2017

Translating, Adapting, And Performing Opera In Eighteenth-Century Cosmopolitan Europe: Lorenzo Da Ponte At The King's Theatre

Lily Tamara Kass
University of Pennsylvania, lilykass@sas.upenn.edu

Translating, Adapting, And Performing Opera In Eighteenth-Century Cosmopolitan Europe: Lorenzo Da Ponte At The King's Theatre

Abstract
This dissertation examines music and text circulation in cosmopolitan Europe during the last decades of the eighteenth century through the lens of translation. London in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the largest center of Italian operatic performance outside of Italy. All performances sung at the King's Theatre, London, were sung in Italian, the presumed language of opera, even when the works had been originated in other languages. This created the need for a culture of translation and adaptation of works from abroad, making them suitable for a London audience partially through the retention of foreignness and partially through domesticating practices. In the 1790s, a period of political tension between Britain and post-Revolution France, four French operas were presented at the King's Theatre in Italian translations attributed to the poet Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838): Gluck's Iphig□nie en Tauride, Gr□try's Z□mire et Azor, Monsigny's La belle Ars□ne, and Sacchini's Arvire et □v□lina. A quintessentially cosmopolitan man who was never stationary for long, Da Ponte served as the house poet for the King's Theatre in London from 1792 to 1799 and then again from 1801 to 1805. A large portion of Da Ponte's job at the King's Theatre involved utilizing his knowledge of languages and of audience taste to adapt and translate preexisting works for the London stage. This historically grounded, theoretically informed, and performance-oriented examination of Da Ponte's four translations as sung at the King's Theatre investigates a world in which translation was a necessary part of daily life in cosmopolitan centers as well as an often overlooked but integral aspect of artistic processes in opera houses.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Graduate Group
Music

First Advisor
Mauro Calcagno

Keywords
18th-century, London, Lorenzo Da Ponte, opera, translation

Subject Categories
Comparative Literature | Music | Other Languages, Societies, and Cultures

TRANSLATING, ADAPTING, AND PERFORMING OPERA IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COSMOPOLITAN EUROPE:

LORENZO DA PONTE AT THE KING'S THEATRE

Lily Tamara Kass

A DISSERTATION

in

Music

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017

Supervisor of Dissertation

_____

Mauro Calcagno

Associate Professor of Music

Graduate Group Chairperson

_____

Carol Muller, Professor of Music

Dissertation Committee

Emily I. Dolan, Gardner Cowles Associate Professor of Music, Harvard University

Jeffrey Kallberg, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Music

TRANSLATING, ADAPTING, AND PERFORMING OPERA IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

COSMOPOLITAN EUROPE: LORENZO DA PONTE AT THE KING'S THEATRE

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The late, great, Daniel Albright, from whom I had the honor to learn at Harvard is the inspiration behind this dissertation. His generous genius changed the course of my life. I would also like to thank my other college professors, especially Marc Shell, John Hamilton, Sandra Naddaff, Matthias Röder, and Mauro Calcagno for nurturing my interests at the intersection between music and literature and welcoming my ideas in their classrooms.

The coursework I took at the University of Pennsylvania with Carolyn Abbate, Jeffrey Kallberg, Emily Dolan, Naomi Waltham-Smith, Jairo Moreno, and Tsitsi Jaji helped me form important ideas about listening and community. Emma Dillon and Emily Dolan taught me the strength and power of kindness, and its great worth in teaching and mentorship. John Platoff was generous with his time, and his interest in my ideas spurred me on with my project. I am immensely grateful to my committee members: Mauro Calcagno, Emily Dolan, and Jeffrey Kallberg, for their constructive criticisms and candid opinions of my work.

In the course of writing this dissertation, I performed research at the British Library, The Victoria and Albert Museum Theatre and Performance Archives, Harvard University's Houghton Library, and the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Neuchâtel. I am grateful for the help of all of the librarians at these institutions, as well as the librarians at the University of Pennsylvania who assisted me in gathering materials in Philadelphia.

I would like to thank all of the graduate students I had the honor to know at Penn for their daily encouragement, and especially Laura Donnelly, Brooke McCorkle, Erica Ball, and Michael McMillan, who supported me from the very beginning of my time at Penn.

Carlo Lanfossi and Maria Murphy helped me achieve my goal to start an Opera Scenes program at Penn, which served as a much-needed creative outlet during my graduate studies. My colleagues and former roommates, Suzanne Bratt and Vanessa Williams, deserve my special thanks for their friendship and for guiding me, both intellectually and emotionally, towards the finish line. My dear friends Sergio Mauritz Ang, Rachel Kurihara, Alexandra Howitt, Sasha Mushegian, and Victoria Crutchfield proved that deep and meaningful friendships can withstand the tests of distance and time. I am also indebted to Victoria for her help with French prosody.

I am lucky to have a loving family that has always been wonderfully supportive of everything I have ever chosen to pursue. My grandparents constantly conveyed to me their unwavering belief that I would succeed. My parents have been champion cheerleaders, listeners, and even proofreaders. I talked through early ideas with my sister Joanna over weekly lunches that I will treasure forever. Finally, I am continually inspired by my husband, Philip Dames, who is brilliant, patient, and kind.

ABSTRACT

TRANSLATING, ADAPTING, AND PERFORMING OPERA IN COSMOPOLITAN EUROPE: LORENZO DA PONTE'S LIBRETTO TRANSLATIONS FOR THE LONDON STAGE

Lily Tamara Kass

Professor Mauro Calcagno

This dissertation examines music and text circulation in cosmopolitan Europe during the last decades of the eighteenth century through the lens of translation. London in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the largest center of Italian operatic performance outside of Italy. All performances sung at the King's Theatre, London, were sung in Italian, the presumed language of opera, even when the works had been originated in other languages. This created the need for a culture of translation and adaptation of works from abroad, making them suitable for a London audience partially through the retention of foreignness and partially through domesticating practices. In the 1790s, a period of political tension between Britain and post-Revolution France, four French operas were presented at the King's Theatre in Italian translations attributed to the poet Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838): Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*, Monsigny's *La belle Arsène*, and Sacchini's *Arvire et Évélina*. A quintessentially cosmopolitan man who was never stationary for long, Da Ponte served as the house poet for the King's Theatre in London from 1792 to 1799 and then again from 1801 to 1805. A large portion of Da Ponte's job at the King's Theatre involved utilizing his knowledge of languages and of audience taste to adapt and translate preexisting works for the London stage. This historically grounded, theoretically informed, and performance-oriented examination of Da Ponte's four translations as sung at the King's Theatre investigates a world in which translation was a necessary part of daily life in cosmopolitan centers as well as an often overlooked but integral aspect of artistic processes in opera houses.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The English essayist Joseph Addison wrote a piece in *The Spectator* in 1711, in which he intended to trace the development of Italian opera in London. His piece was for posterity, as he writes: "Our great grand-children will be very curious to know the reason why their fore-fathers used to sit together like an audience of foreigners in their own country, and to hear whole Plays acted before them in a tongue which they did not understand."[1] The evolution that Addison outlines in his essay is simultaneously logical and absurd. It begins in the recent past, with one English composer becoming enamored with an art form he sees abroad, and it ends in an imagined future in which London audiences have lost their senses, having succumbed to a nonsensical trend.

Joseph Addison's Opera History

First, Addison writes, operas written by English composers to be performed in the English language began to be influenced and inspired by Italian operas.[2] Next, preexisting Italian operas were directly translated into English.[3] Addison describes the poor quality of these translations. The ignorance of these opera's translators meant that the text-music relationships present in the original works were often destroyed. What

[1] J. Addison, *The Spectator*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837), 42.

[2] Addison cites the case of Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*. *Arsinoe* premiered at the Drury Lane theatre on January 16, 1705. The opera had an English-language libretto (by Peter Anthony Motteaux), but Clayton had modeled *Arsinoe* on the Italian operas he had studied on a trip to Italy. In fact, the libretto, with its (perhaps overly) complicated and dramatic plot, was Italian in origin (based on an Italian libretto by Tomasso Stanzani). Clayton's *Arsinoe* was sung-through, complete with sections of recitative, and the musical style of the arias sounded so Italian, that some doubted that Clayton had written them at all. For more information about *Arsinoe* and its reception, see: Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Arsinoe," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.) and Thomas McGeary, "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England.," *Philological Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (1998): 171.

[3] According to Addison, this went along with the new law of the land ""Nothing is capable of being well set to Musick that is not Nonsense." Addison, *The Spectator*, 1:42.

Addison sarcastically calls "the next step to our Refinement" involved the importation of Italian singers to sing these operas. The Italian singers did not know English and sang their roles in Italian, while their English co-stars sang in English. "At length," Addison reports, "the Audience grew tir'd of understanding Half the Opera, and therefore to ease themselves Entirely of the Fatigue of Thinking, have so order'd it at Present that the whole Opera is performed in an unknown Tongue." In other words, Italian operas began to be imported intact, and Italian singers sang them in Italian. When Addison arrives at this part of the story, he writes:

> I cannot forbear thinking how naturally an Historian who writes two or three hundred years hence, and does not know the taste of his wise forefathers will make the following reflection, *In the beginning of the eighteenth Century the* Italian *tongue was so well understood in* England *that Opera's were acted on the publick stage in that language*.[4]

Of course, English audiences at the time did not, on the whole, understand Italian.[5]

This dissertation presents a special case that Addison, had he been alive to witness it, may have derided still more. In the late 1790s at the King's Theatre in London, some operas were not only performed in Italian, but were translated into Italian for that purpose. Lorenzo Da Ponte, well-known in his time as well as today as Mozart's librettist for *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Così fan tutte*, played a prominent role in this translation and adaptation practice, helping Italian-language opera to continue in London even when the operas themselves were imported from France. The King's Theatre, London, was the only theater licensed for Italian opera performances from 1792

[4] Ibid., 1:43.

[5] Ibid. Although Addison's evaluation of Italian opera's history in England from 1705 to 1710 is sardonic in tone, the facts that he represents are true and verifiable through other channels. Italian opera's history in London in the eighteenth century has been traced through primary sources such as pamphlets, printed libretti, contracts for singers, and letters of impresarios, many of which are housed in the Harvard Theatre Collection and catalogued in a volume entitled, *The King's Theatre Collection: ballet and Italian opera in London 1706-1883: from the John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection, Harvard Theatre Collection*. Summaries of these materials and overviews of the performance practice of Italian Opera in London have been made in Frederick C. Petty's 1980 book, *Italian opera in London, 1760-1800*, and even more comprehensively in the two-volume set, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth Century London*, published in 1995 and 2001 and spearheaded by Curtis Alexander Price.

to 1843. The theater's history of providing generous compensation to artists meant that it drew the most talented performers from around the world, despite the fact that it did not have a famous composer in residence between 1760 and 1826, like other top opera houses did at the time.[6] "Italian opera" at the King's Theatre came to mean any opera sung in Italian, complicating issues of nationalism inherent in opera performance.

A common belief in the late eighteenth century, and one that the German philosopher and literary critic Johann Gottfried Herder professed in his 1772 treatise on the "Origin of Language," was that language and national or communal belonging were inextricably linked. Language is, Herder writes, the "characteristic word of the race, bond of the family, tool of instruction, hero song of the fathers' deeds, and the voice of these fathers from their graves."[7] Language ties together generations and acts as a grounding force in a person's sense of self in relation to community. In the midst of England's animosity towards France in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the use of French in England was considered "seditious and/or unpatriotic" despite the large influence the French language had had on English vocabulary over the preceding centuries.[8] Within Revolutionary France, the Jacobins sought to standardize the French language in an effort to further unite the French people across provincial divides.[9] The strong connection between national identity and language in Europe at this time meant that translation was especially fraught, both culturally and politically.

---

[6] Morris S. Levy et al., *The King's Theatre Collection: Ballet and Italian Opera in London 1706-1883: From the John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection, Harvard Theatre Collection: A Catalogue*, Houghton Library Publications (Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2006), ix.

[7] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Philosophical Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 65. [This portion is italicized in the original text.]

[8] Joan C. Beal, "'À La Mode de Paris': Linguistic Patriotism and Francophobia in 18th-Century Britain," in *The Languages of Nation: Attitudes and Norms*, ed. Carol Percy and Mary Catherine Davidson, Multilingual Matters 148 (Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2012), 153.

[9] David Avrom Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 175–182.

An examination of translation practices in the last decades of the eighteenth century is integral to an understanding not only of opera performance practices in London but of the greater multicultural milieu that was Europe at that time. Circulation of musical materials in printed form is only one aspect of the flow of music from one audience to another. Through the study of musical translation, a variety of agents involved in the production, circulation, and transmission of music emerges: poets, composers, singers, theater administrators, and others, who grapple in a basic way with language, musical material, and larger, theoretical cultural issues.

In this dissertation, I examine musical translation practices in Europe in the late eighteenth century, using as case studies the translations from French to Italian attributed to Lorenzo Da Ponte and premiered at the King' Theatre between 1795 and 1797. Although there is a vast body of primary and secondary source literature related to Da Ponte, these particular translations have been largely ignored.[10] Likewise, combined scholarly work on translation and music studies is only in its beginning stages. This dissertation adds to this growing body of scholarship while also suggesting methodologies for further research.[11]

---

[10] For Da Ponte's life in his own words, see: Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, New York Review Books Classics (New York: New York Review Books, 2000). For collections of his libretti, see Lorenzo Da Ponte and Lorenzo Della Chà, *Libretti londinesi* (Milano: Il polifilo, 2007); Lorenzo Da Ponte and Lorenzo Della Chà, *Libretti viennesi* (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1999). For biographies on Da Ponte, see Rodney Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2006); Sheila Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); April FitzLyon, *The Libertine Librettist: A Biography of Mozart's Librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte*. (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1957). For a discussion of Da Ponte's collaborations with Mozart, see Ronald Jay Rabin, "Mozart, Da Ponte, and the Dramaturgy of Opera Buffa: Italian Comic Opera in Vienna, 1783-1791" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1996); Richard Bletschacher, *Mozart und da Ponte: Chronik einer Begegnung* (Salzburg: Residenz, 2004); Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart-Da Ponte Operas: The Cultural and Musical Background to Le Nozze Di Figaro, Don Giovanni, and Così Fan Tutte* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).; Giovanni Scarabello, "Da Ponte, Lorenzo," *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, accessed March 7, 2017, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lorenzo-da-ponte_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. A full list of resources written about Da Ponte is available in my bibliography.

[11] The topic of translation in music is still very much in a fledgling state. However, there has been a good deal of scholarship, albeit scattered, throughout the past few decades. Ronnie Apter, herself a translator of libretti into singable English, has written several pieces on the practicalities of translating texts set to music, most recently a full-length book with fellow translator Mark Herman. (Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman,

Da Ponte translated four operas into Italian from pre-existing French libretti for performance at the King's Theatre in London. In 1795, he translated C. S. Favart's libretto for Pierre Alexander Monsigny's 1773 *La belle Arsène*,[12] presented in London as *La bella Arsene*. In 1796, J. F. Marmontel's libretto for André Grétry's 1771 opera *Zémire et Azor* was sung as *Zemira e Azor* in London in a translation that Da Ponte claimed as his own. In the same year, Christoph Willibald Gluck's 1778 opera *Iphigénie en Tauride*, with a libretto by Nicolas-François Guillard, was presented in Da Ponte's translation as *Ifigenia in Tauride* – a translation that had been completed by Da Ponte in 1783 for a production in Vienna. Finally, in 1797, Da Ponte's translation of Guillard's libretto *Arvire et Evélina*, written in 1788, with music by Antonio Sacchini, was presented as *Evelina, or the Triumph of the English over the Romans*, an English title that belied its Italian libretto. The four operas, performed in Italian translation in London, share not only their translator, but also their prima donna, the soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti, who sang the title role in each of these productions. Da Ponte's words and Banti's voice bring together these cases, which are, for the most part, disparate in terms of their subject matter and musical genesis. I use these four operas to investigate a world in which translation was a necessary part of daily life in cosmopolitan centers, as well as an often overlooked but important aspect of the artistic process in opera houses.

Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics, Bloomsbury Advances in Translation (London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).); Dinda Gorlée's anthology, *Song and Significance: Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*, is the most comprehensive volume on the subject. Dinda L. Gorlée, *Song and Significance: Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*, Approaches to Translation Studies (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2005). Gorlée's own articles, blending intensely theoretical semiotic theories with discourses of musical text-setting, are fascinating but tantalizingly incomplete, as they fail to address some major practical issues such as the live, kinetic aspects of opera performance. Dinda L. Gorlée, "Intercode Translation: Words and Music in Opera," *Target* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 1997): 235–70; Dinda L. Gorlée, "Jakobson and Peirce: Translational Intersemiosis and Symbiosis in Opera," *Sign Systems Studies* 36, no. 2 (2008): 341–74. More work of this kind is needed, and the collaboration between scholars and practitioners is crucial to fill these gaps, as proven by the symposium "Music in Translation," hosted at Cardiff University in May of 2014.

[12] Throughout this dissertation, I will always refer to these operas by their French names in order to avoid confusion. I will likewise refer to the characters in these operas by their French names.

The larger topic of the translation of foreign operas into Italian for the King's Theatre has not yet been subjected to extensive scholarship. In the introductory chapter to the first volume of *Italian Opera in the Eighteenth-Century London* there is a five-page section devoted to the issue of translation. The authors fault "opera historians" for having "paid little attention to …translations," citing their importance in the audience's comprehension of the operas.[13] The translations contributed to the London audience "being informed, manipulated, and sometimes misled."[14] I heartily agree with these sentiments and offer evidence in this dissertation that support these claims. However, the translations that the authors refer to in this passage are the translations of Italian opera libretti into English. This is only one aspect of translation practice in London in this time, but the authors do not mention translation of foreign-language libretti into Italian for sung performance on stage. Their sharp focus on London hinders their abilities to discuss issues that are transnational, such as circulation and multilingualism.

Pierre Degott has studied translation practice in London in the first half of the eighteenth century, but also from the perspective of Italian opera translated into English. Degott admits in his conclusion to "Early English translations of Italian opera (1711-1750)" that, "although no exhaustive examination of operatic translation in eighteenth-century England has been conducted so far, it seems that the scope of the English versions of Italian opera-librettos clearly emerges as invaluable…."[15] My dissertation aims to address this major gap in scholarship and claims that an examination of the sung Italian translations is equally invaluable.

---

[13] Curtis Alexander Price et al., *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995), 34.

[14] Curtis Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio," *Harvard Library Bulletin* ii, no. 4 (1991): 35.

[15] Pierre Degott, "Early English Translations of Italian Opera (1711-1750)," in *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2010).

Da Ponte as Translator

My focus on translation necessitates thinking across geographic and linguistic boundaries that are, for the most part, contrived. I aim to reconstitute narratives of music history that are often framed in reference to one particular center of music-making in order to create a more textured map of circulation practices. In my use of a translator as the main figure in my dissertation, I am able to draw connections outward, broadening the project rather than limiting it.

In 2009, *Hermes, a Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, published a special issue called "Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator."[16] The editors set out to address the question of why, in the relatively young but growing field of translation studies, "translators themselves – the people who produce the translated texts and engage in the translation processes – have attracted surprisingly little attention so far."[17] In the first article in the issue, translation scholar Anthony Chesterman advocates for "Translat*or* Studies," which he proposes would encompass "research which focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation, for instance on their activities or attitudes, their interaction with their social and technical environment, or their history and influence."[18] Anthony Pym's article, "Humanizing Translation History," calls for a renewed focus on translators as people rather than on data-driven analysis of the content of the translations themselves. Pym points out many reasons why a "progressive humanization of Translation Studies" can help in "possibly alerting scholars

[16] The first two articles in this special issue are the only ones relevant to this dissertation, as they describe more broadly applicable, theoretical concerns, whereas the rest of the issue focuses on modern case studies of non-literary translation and interpretation.

[17] Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen, "Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator -- Introduction to the Thematic Section," *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 7.

[18] Andrew Chesterman, "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies," *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 20.

to phenomena previously overlooked."[19] Translators, for Pym, are not always strongly situated in one culture or discourse, but instead are able to mediate because of their location on the intersection between cultures and discourses.[20]

The recent turn in translation studies, traced in this special issue, towards a more translator-centric model may feel familiar to music historians. Trends in so-called "new musicology," which began in Anglophone scholarship in the late 1980s, likewise turned away from purely data-driven analysis and, as one of its main practitioners, Lawrence Kramer, writes, sought to "combine aesthetic insight into music with a fuller understanding of its cultural, social, historical, and political dimensions than was customary for most of the twentieth century."[21] Musicology has always been somewhat composer-centric, in the sense that the composer is assumed to be a genius, so that everything that he (or she, but generally he) composed should be preserved and studied. "New musicology" also values the scholarly act of situating composers within the socio-cultural milieu in which they worked.

While the turn towards "translat*or* studies" has analogies to the turn towards "new musicology," it is also distinct due to the particular conditions of translation versus composition. Pym asserts that "translators usually do more than translate," and this certainly holds true in the case of Lorenzo Da Ponte, whose life story we will explore below. Pym also states that translators have "complex cultural allegiances." This is also

---

[19] Anthony Pym, "Humanizing Translation History," *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 23.

[20] For a historical overview of the field of Translation Studies, see André Lefevere, ed., *Translation--History, Culture a Sourcebook* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992); Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility a History of Translation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995); Lawrence Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Judy Wakabayashi, "History of Translation," in *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0512; Ali Reza Ghanooni, "A Review of the History of Translation Studies," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2012), doi:10.4304/tpls.2.1.77-85.

[21] Lawrence Kramer, "Musicology and Meaning," *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1883 (2003): 6, doi:10.2307/3650677. Kramer also derisively writes in the same article that the term "new musicology" "sticks like a cobweb with just as little usefulness."

true of Da Ponte, who was wildly passionate about Italian literature before Italy was a coherent state. His allegiance to the literature also did not prevent him from traveling widely, and pledging loyalty to other countries. Da Ponte's "physical mobility," another commonality that Pym points out among translators, along with the physical mobility of others in his circle, led to a cosmopolitan outlook. In my project, I explore Da Ponte as a translator, as a music professional, and as a person with a personal agenda, a hard-won skill-set, and a place in the social order that he constantly tried to renegotiate. I also view Da Ponte less as a solitary, misunderstood genius, an image that he tries to promote in his *Memorie*, and more as a talented collaborator who worked hard to earn respect in a variety of roles.

Born into a poor Jewish family in 1749 with the given name Emanuele Conegliano, Da Ponte later became a Christian Abbé, a gambler, a poet, a librettist, a translator, a publisher, and finally a professor of Italian. Born in Ceneda, which he describes as a "small but not obscure city of the Venetian State,"[22] Da Ponte lived the last part of his life in New York, spending time in Venice, Gorizia, Dresden, Vienna, Brussels, Rotterdam, The Hague, London, and Philadelphia along the way. He wrote about his journeys in his *Memorie*, which I will draw on throughout this dissertation and critique as a source in Chapter 3. A number of biographies, from the nineteenth century to the present day have also rehearsed Da Ponte's life story.[23] Musicologists have focused on Da Ponte's time in Vienna since it was there that he collaborated with Mozart.[24] Here, I will explore Da

[22] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 5.

[23] Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*; Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist*; FitzLyon, *The Libertine Librettist: A Biography of Mozart's Librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte*.

[24] Da Ponte's life has also attracted the attention of film and theater professionals. In 2010, the film "Io, Don Giovanni" (2010) explored Da Ponte's collaboration with Mozart. In 2016 a "jazz opera" called simply "Da Ponte" premiered at the Reading Theatre project, performed by the Berks Opera Company. See Footnote 10 for other musicological discussions of Da Ponte's work.

Ponte's biography as it relates to the main theme of this dissertation: translation. Although I problematize the use of Da Ponte's *Memorie* as a truthful historical document in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I consciously use them as my primary source for two reasons. First, especially as relates to Da Ponte's early years before he left home, there is little to no other documentation besides the *Memorie*. Second, and perhaps more important, what is relevant here is what Da Ponte thought he knew of languages, or even how he wanted to represent his knowledge of them to the public.

Da Ponte's mother tongue was most likely some variety of Venetian dialect.[25] However he also learned many other languages to varying degrees throughout his life. When recounting his early studies, Da Ponte wrote, "Education meant Latin in those days,"[26] and he began formal study in this language first. However, Da Ponte claimed that his Latin teacher was both lax and physically abusive, and when his father found this out, he fired the tutor, leaving Da Ponte a "clever dunce."[27] Ashamed of his lack of formal education, Da Ponte took it upon himself to read all of the books he could find in his family's library, which were in literary Italian. Later, Da Ponte was taken under the wing of the Bishop of Ceneda,[28] who educated him for the clergy. This resulted in intensive Latin study but so little study of any modern language that Da Ponte reports, "While I was capable of composing in half a day a long oration and perhaps fifty not inelegant verses in Latin, I could not for the life of me write a letter of a few lines in my own language without making ten errors."[29] This deficiency was rectified by the arrival of Abbé Cagliari, who had studied both Latin and Italian literature in Padua and was

[25] Da Ponte even writes in Venetian dialect in his *Memorie* when recounting conversations in which he took part in Venice. (See, for example, Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 21.)

[26] Ibid., 6.

[27] Ibid., 7.

[28] The Bishop of Ceneda was named Lorenzo Da Ponte, and when Da Ponte was converted to Christianity and baptized, he took the Bishop's name. ,

[29] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 8.

enthusiastic to share his knowledge with his students. Da Ponte would have liked to continue his studies by learning Greek and deepening his knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he had studied from a young age, but, at the age of 21, he was offered a job teaching, which he chose to accept instead.[30] Da Ponte eventually learned German, but describes his confusion in 1779 at an inn in Gorizia[31] where not only could he not understand the language, but he at first could not even tell the difference between German and Croatian.[32] He touchingly describes his ten- to twelve-day stay at the inn during which he communicated with the "pretty, fresh, and vivacious" innkeeper through the medium of a German-Italian dictionary. At the end of his stay, Da Ponte writes, "I found that I had amassed a certain vocabulary, but composed almost wholly of words and phrases of love."[33] This amorous escapade may very well have been Da Ponte's first experience of translation outside of an academic setting.

Soon after Da Ponte's love affair in translation, he was paid by Count Rodolfo Coronini to translate his 3-volume Latin text *Fastorum Goritiensium*, or *The Splendor of Gorizia*, into Italian verse. The result, published in Gorizia in 1780, states clearly on its title page that Coronini's Latin verses were "portati in Italiano dall'Abate D. Lorenzo Da Ponte."[34] In the same city, Da Ponte claims he was asked to write a piece for the theater. He first tried his hand at translating a German tragedy. When that was not successful, he and his brother translated the French tragedy "Le Comte de Warwick," presumably by Jean-François de la Harpe, into Italian. This met with greater success. If this anecdote is true, then Da Ponte was translating from German and French, languages that he never

[30] Ibid., 16.

[31] Gorizia is a province in Italy, but at the time it was under Habsburg rule.

[32] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 76.

[33] Ibid., 79.

[34] Rodolfo Coronini, *Fasti Goriziani*, trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte (Gorizia: Valerio de' Valeri, 1780). This literally means "carried into Italian by the Abbé," and is a more poetic way to say that Da Ponte translated the text.

learned formally, by late 1780. In 1781, Da Ponte observed his friend, Caterino Mazzolà, who was then the court poet of Dresden, working on "composing, translating, and adapting operas to the needs of that theater."[35] Da Ponte claims that he helped Mazzolà translate Quinault's French libretto for *Atys et Cybèle* into Italian, and if that is the case, this was probably the first translation Da Ponte completed that was meant to be set to music. It was fortuitous that Mazzolà had given Da Ponte a window into the life of a theater poet, because when Da Ponte arrived in Vienna in 1782, that is what he became. Soon after he arrived in Vienna, Da Ponte was thrown into translating *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the topic of Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Da Ponte may have done other translation work in Vienna, but if he did, it has either been lost or was never attributed to him. This dissertation picks up his translation work in London, where he translated *La belle Arsène* (1795) and *Arvire et Évélina* (1797). He also later took credit for a translation of *Zémire et Azor* (presented in 1796) that had been written years earlier by another poet.

In 1796, Da Ponte also opened a printing shop near the opera house at 134 Pall Mall in London, which allowed him to profit off of his libretti in two ways: as the poet of the theatre and as the publisher of its libretti.[36] *Arvire et Évélina* was the first libretto that Da Ponte ever printed, and the libretto shows many traces of Da Ponte's inexperience.[37] In 1800, when Da Ponte was no longer the official poet of the King's Theatre, his passion for Italian literature took him in another direction, and he bought hundreds of old Italian

[35] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 91.

[36] Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*, 252.

[37] There are a number of typographical errors. Many lines are misattributed in this libretto, as measured against information from the original French score and libretto as well as the Italian manuscript score. In addition, many of the characters' names are spelled incorrectly. There is even a spectacular pair of pages in which the character Modred, whose name correctly is abbreviated to "Mod." preceding his lines, becomes first "Rod." on his next line, and in the facing page in English translation first "Ned." and then "Nod." (Antonio Sacchini and Nicolas François Guillard, *Evelina; or, the triumph of the English over the Romans*, trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte (No. 134 Pall-Mall, London: L. Da Ponte, 1797), 18–19.

books for a bookstore that had undervalued them for years. He produced a catalogue of his acquisitions and opened his own bookstore in 1801, where he sold preexisting books as well as new editions of books and libretti that he printed himself.[38]

After his time in London, Da Ponte moved from one Anglophone land to another, arriving in the American Northeast. There he taught Italian to English-speakers, becoming not only the first Italian teacher at Columbia University,[39] but also the "first professor of Italian literature in America."[40] Da Ponte served as a cultural ambassador for Italian language and culture in the English-speaking world, and he also performed the reverse function. In 1821, Da Ponte published his Italian translation of Lord Byron's poem *The Prophecy of Dante*.[41] Da Ponte decided to speak to the author directly in a preface to his translation, explaining that the overwhelming "temptation to translate" Byron's work was brought on by "the desire that these truths would be heard by a country that is so dear to you, in which your language is not generally known."[42]

Also in America, Da Ponte tried to spread not only love for Italian language and literature, but also love for Italian opera. Da Ponte helped the famous tenor, impresario, and vocal pedagogue Manuel García bring his company to New York in 1825, where it

---

[38] Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*, 265–302.

[39] Ibid., 298–299. Columbia University was at this time called Columbia College.

[40] This assertion can be found on the monument that was placed, in October 1987, near Da Ponte's unmarked grave in the Calvary Cemetery in Maspeth, New York in honor of Italian Heritage Day.

[41] An article by Veronica Simcock Zipoli explores aspects of Da Ponte's career beyond his famous libretto-writing and investigates Da Ponte's teaching practices at Columbia and translations of English literature into Italian, shedding new light on the poet's *Memorie* by revealing them to have been written as a teaching tool for his Italian students. Veronica Simcock Zipoli, "Lorenzo da Ponte: Teacher and Translator," in *Atti del convegno Lorenzo Da Ponte, librettista di Mozart: New York, Columbia University, Casa Italiana, Piccolo Teatro, 28-30 marzo 1988*, ed. Marina Maymone Siniscalchi and Paolo Spedicato (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Divisione editoria, 1992).

[42] "Il desiderio che queste verità s'odano da un Paese a voi tanto caro, a cui non è nota generalmente la vostra lingua." George Gordon Byron, *La Profezia Di Dante*, trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte (New York: R. & W. A. Bartow, 1821).

mounted the first full-length Italian opera performance in that city.[43] Persuaded by Da Ponte, the company gave *Don Giovanni* its American premiere on May 23, 1826. With this performance, Da Ponte passed the translating torch to his son, Lorenzo Da Ponte Junior, who is cited on the title page as having translated the "poetic portion" of the libretto from his father's Italian into English verse. The García company's New York residency only increased Da Ponte's desire to find a permanent home for Italian opera in New York. He organized the building of an Italian opera house in Lower Manhattan, which opened in 1833. The theater, called simply "The New York Opera Company," presented operas by Rossini, Cimarosa, and Pacini before it was sold in 1836 due to lack of funds.[44]

Cosmopolitanism and Multilingualism

The topic of cosmopolitanism has recently been much debated among comparatists studying globalization in the post-colonial era. Originally an ancient Greek concept denoting the act of being a citizen of the world, rather than of a particular political system or locale, the term was picked up again in the eighteenth century by such thinkers as Rousseau and Kant. Never fully defined, and often used critically and ironically in its eighteenth-century context, its usage in late eighteenth century Europe is nonetheless remarkable for its acknowledgement of commonalities among disparate political, social, and linguistic groups even as nationalistic tendencies grew.[45] William Weber discusses the concept in a musicological context in his examination of concert programs from the 1780s in Paris, Vienna, Leipzig, and London, which often included excerpts from operas

[43] Francis Rogers, "America's First Grand Opera Season," *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1915): 100.

[44] Otto Biba, "Da Ponte in New York, Mozart in New York," *Current Musicology*, no. 81 (Spring 2006): 114–115.

[45] My thoughts on cosmopolitanism as a philosophical ideal are much indebted to the articles cited under "Cosmopolitanism" in the attached bibliography, but especially to the work of Mary Helen McMurran and Sophia Rosenfeld's brilliant summaries of the definition of cosmopolitanism in the eighteenth century.

along with instrumental pieces.[46] My case studies will confront the issue of cosmopolitanism in a fully operatic context – a context that includes such extra-musical elements as costumes, sets, lights, and printed libretti.[47] My analysis takes into account Da Ponte's status as a foreigner, examining whether he could be defined as truly cosmopolitan as a "stranger nowhere,"[48] or whether his status as a stranger everywhere might also fit the criterion of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism. I also explore whether it was the cosmopolitanism of the audience members that allowed them to enjoy a seemingly foreign art form sung in a foreign language and whether dual-language printed libretti are tangible representations of cosmopolitan London.

Although the subject of this dissertation is the translation of opera libretti, it is also important to note that translation played an integral part in daily life in eighteenth-century cosmopolitan Europe. During this time, various locales underwent dramatic changes in their linguistic environment, mostly due to political factors. The surrounding environment for the case studies presented here is therefore a Europe in linguistic flux, defined by and in need of translation on many levels. For example, in Vienna, where Da Ponte spent the years 1781 to 1791, some of the most productive of his career, the succession of rulers changed the attitude towards language, determining which

---

[46] William Weber, "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[47] Aspects of operatic cosmopolitanism, such as the reception of foreign works by new audiences, have been explored in such articles as Emanuele Senici, "'Adapted to the Modern Stage': 'La Clemenza Di Tito' in London," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, no. 1 (1995): pp. 1–22, which discusses the same context as my dissertation, i.e. Italian opera in London, albeit a decade later. However, in Senici's essay the term cosmopolitanism never arises, and the issue is never addressed directly. The use of the term cosmopolitanism would have complicated Senici's notion of a rather static and situationally grounded reception history and changed it into a question of ongoing circulation and communication among groups of people.

[48] Mary Helen McMurran, "The New Cosmopolitanism and the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 47, no. 1 (2013): 28.

languages were fit for politics and the arts, and securing and destroying the livelihoods of theater personnel with their changeable decrees.[49]

In a Europe informed by change and exchange, Da Ponte learned the serious nature of navigating between languages and cultures, which especially affected the lives of travelers, who, in a truly cosmopolitan world, would be able to expect hospitality everywhere. In one brief passage in his *Memorie*, Da Ponte leads his readers to believe that if he and his wife Nancy had not had a working knowledge of German that they could demonstrate at will, they would have been effectively deaf to the nefarious conversations whispered by Germans at an inn between Spires and London, and Nancy would have been kidnapped or worse.[50] Translation as a matter of life and death outside of the theater complicates traditional notions of translation as an art inferior to original poetry. Translation from one's native language into the language of another is integral for communication across cultural boundaries, and, simultaneously, translation into one's native language from a foreign tongue becomes an act of cultural appropriation.[51]

Translation, Adaptation, and Authorship

Issues of authorship, related to the preponderance of translations and adaptations staged at the King's Theatre, are integral to this dissertation. The eighteenth century conception of authorship was quite different from today's. In *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, Lydia Goehr dates the modern idea of a "work-concept" as beginning at

[49] For a full discussion of language and theatre in Vienna during these years, see page 42.

[50] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 222.

[51] Nele Bemong, Mirjam Truwant, and Pieter Vermeulen, eds., *Re-Thinking Europe: Literature and (trans)national Identity*, vol. 55 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008); Georges L. Bastin and Paul F. Bandia, *Charting the Future of Translation History* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006); Susan Pickford, *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750-1830: Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*, ed. Alison E. Martin, Routledge Research in Travel Writing (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

the turn of the nineteenth century.[52] Music of the late 1700s contains seeds of later conceptions of a musical work as closed, indelibly linked to its creators, but these features were not yet widely prevalent, according to Goehr, until the turn of the nineteenth century.[53] Some composers were known in their own time, either locally, or across Europe, but even popular composers whose works were advertised with their names as hooks, were easily confused with one another.[54]

The lines between translation and adaptation, and between adaptations and original works, were likewise blurry in the late eighteenth century.[55] In England in particular, copyright laws was ruled to be applicable to music in 1777, and throughout the 1780s and 1790s, the large number of contentious lawsuits revolving around musical copyrights demonstrated the tension between old and new ideas about the authorship of musical works.[56] Many of these lawsuits involved practices of pastiche compilation. A pastiche, or *pasticcio* in Italian, was a musical work that was formed from pieces of diverse sources – an aria from one opera, a duet from another, a trio from a third, and so on. The practice of pastiche writing began in the 17th century, and was, by turns, celebrated and reviled.

---

[52] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works : An Essay in the Philosophy of Music: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Clarendon Press, 1992). Goehr's conception of the work concept has been explored and disputed in a variety of different contexts. One volume gathers up a number of these diverse perspectives: Michael Talbot, ed., *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, Liverpool Music Symposium 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

[53] Goehr notes that today we "treat works as…original, unique products of a special, creative activity." Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works : An Essay in the Philosophy of Music: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, 2.

[54] Note the confusion between Grétry and Monsigny on the title page to *La Bella Arsene*, discussed in Chapter 3. Charles-Simon Favart and Pierre Alexandre Monsigny, *La Bella Arsene, an Heroic Opera, in Three Acts; as Performed at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket*, trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte and John Mazzinghi (London: W. Glindon, 1795).

[55] The fields of Translation and Adaptation Studies are known to be closely connected in general, but in the context of eighteenth century opera, where the concepts of an opera text and even of an opera score are relatively fluid, the overlap is particularly relevant. A recent, solid introduction to the intersection between Translation and Adaptation Studies is the introduction to Laurence Raw, ed., *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation*, Continuum Advances in Translation (London; New York: Continuum International Pub. Group, 2012). The same book contains an excellent discussion of moral issues of appropriation inherent in adaptation and translation. Similar theories are applied specifically to translations for the theater in a chapter of Maria Sidiropoulou's *Linguistic Identities through Translation*. (See: Maria Sidiropoulou, *Linguistic Identities through Translation* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2004).)

[56] Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio."

Some composers, like Handel, famously cobbled together pastiches from their own previous works. Others took pieces from operas written by their colleagues. Some cited the thefts openly; others disguised them.[57] The King's Theatre, London, was the "largest consumer [of pastiches] till the end of the century."[58] House composers, such as Joseph Mazzinghi, were even obligated to sign contracts stating they would "arrange all the Pasticcios" that the theater performed.[59]

Composers were not the only participants in the creation of pastiches. Singers often were the primary agents in these endeavors. Even if a piece of music was to be performed in its entirety, with music written by one composer and sung in the order in which it was written, a prima donna could request that her favorite bravura aria be inserted from another source, and her wish would have to be granted. The allowance of so-called "suitcase arias" was often inserted as a clause into singers' contracts, and these arias effectually made pastiches of the operas into which they were inserted.[60]

Singers were therefore on the forefront of opera manipulation, using their fame and power over the box office to effect artistic change. This is why the figure of Brigida Banti, the prima donna of all four of the case studies I discuss, will be essential to my dissertation. Brigida Giorgi Banti (1755-1806) was an Italian singer who made her debut in Paris and then traveled to Amsterdam, London, Vienna, Venice, Warsaw, and Madrid, before returning to London in 1794. This time her connection to London became more permanent. She made her home onstage as the prima donna of the King's Theatre until

[57] As a librettist, Lorenzo Da Ponte famously lifted heavily from Giovanni Bertati's *Don Giovanni* libretto of 1787 for his own *Don Giovanni*, premiered that same year.

[58] Curtis Price, "Pasticcio," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.; Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio"; Daniel E. Freeman, "An 18th-Century Singer's Commission of 'Baggage' Arias," *Early Music* XX, no. 3 (1992): 427–33.

she retired from performance in 1802.[61] Banti was talented at bravura singing but was equally at home singing the rather plainer Gluck reform operas. It is thought that she could not read music, and she therefore learned her roles by ear.[62] In chapter 4, I explore whether Banti's method of singing, likely detached from a written score, may offer further insight into the mutability inherent in eighteenth-century opera performances.

Methodology and Sources

Documentation can be difficult to find for some cases of operatic migration, adaptation, and translation. Because the Italian translations of French operas were not performed frequently and were never published as complete works, their material traces are scattered, and in some cases seemingly lost. An analysis of all of these translations was made possible by the survival of all four of the libretti in question printed in London for the King's Theatre performances. For *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the Italian libretto from Vienna also survives, complete with a note from the translator. In addition to these printed texts, we are fortunate to have handwritten drafts of these libretti, which were held by the London Examiner of Plays, John Larpent.[63]

In terms of the music, sheet music was printed for all four operas and sold in London as individual arias, duets, and trios, allowing amateur and professional musicians alike to perform the pieces in their homes or in public concerts. These artifacts show the translated, Italian libretti set to music, giving valuable information about the way in which text was set to music, and allowing us to recreate performance practice on a very basic level. However, these selections do not come close to adding up to the large

[61] Bruce Carr, "Banti, Brigida Giorgi," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 23, 2014, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/01964.

[62] Mario Giuseppe Genesi, "'... E non m'invola a sì rea fatalità': il repertorio di una soprano d'opera seria Accademia Filarmonica 'ad honorem' Maria Brigida Giorgi-Banti di Monticelli d'Ongina.," *Archivio Storico Parmense* XLIII (1991): 189–213.

[63] I discuss Larpent in detail on page 49.

quantity of musical material contained in each opera. The most valuable resource for a project such as this is a complete score to the opera with the word-underlay in Italian matching the printed libretti. A full score to *Évélina*, whose contents closely correspond to other evidence we have of the King's Theatre production is housed at the British Library in London, and plays an important role in Chapter 3.

No such score seems to exist for *La Belle Arsène*. In my discussion of this opera in Chapter 2, in order to analyze the Italian text-setting for this opera, I carefully attempt to reconstruct it using materials that do still exist: the Italian libretto sent to John Larpent to review; the Italian libretto published and distributed at performances; the arias and scenes published as extracts from the opera with Italian text-setting; and the French score to the opera published in Paris. Using these resources along with conventions of late eighteenth-century Italian prosody, I created a plausible Italian version of portions of *La belle Arsène*'s score. While the resulting product may not exactly correspond with the version that was performed onstage, the process of reconstructing the Italian-language score is inherently valuable. In fitting Da Ponte's Italian text, as printed in libretti, to the published French score, I imitate Da Ponte's own labor adapting the work to his Italian translation for the King's Theatre audience

For *Zémire et Azor* and *Iphigénie en Tauride* scores exist with Italian text underlay similar but not identical to the versions performed at the King's Theatre. Because both operas were translated into Italian prior to their appearance on the London stage (*Zémire et Azor* in Mannheim by Verazi and *Iphigénie en Tauride* in Vienna by Da Ponte), these scores are not necessarily from the King's Theatre productions, and in fact I prove that the *Iphigénie en Tauride* score is from Vienna. However, these scores are still helpful as they contain parts of the text that would have also been set to music in

London, and they provide examples of text-setting of parts of the libretto that were not published in extracts – for example, recitative passages.

In addition to these Italian-language sources, the French sources are also valuable. The French scores and libretti published around the time of the operas' premieres in Paris allow me to make the source text/translation comparisons that form the foundation of this project. Many passages in the French libretti are replicated almost word-for-word in the Italian translations, a fact that I explore and theorize about throughout this dissertation. For passages like these I have found it useful to compare the French text and the Italian text side-by-side, using underlined and **bolded** text to highlight the parallels between the two.

Opera is a multimedia experience, and scholars react to opera's many dimensions with increasingly interdisciplinary study.[64] My dissertation contributes to this trend, and in addition to the primary sources mentioned above, my work, although based in musicology, draws upon scholarship in a variety of fields: linguistics; translation studies; comparative literature; Italian studies; French studies; theater studies; and cultural history.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 follows the path of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* through three major cosmopolitan centers, examining the transformations it underwent during its seventeen-year journey. The opera premiered in Paris in 1779 before traveling on to Vienna, where Da Ponte translated it into Italian as his first assignment for the Viennese court in 1783, and on to London, where it was performed at the King's Theatre in a slightly altered version of the Viennese translation in 1796. My analysis of Da Ponte's work on the opera

[64] Linda Hutcheon, "Interdisciplinary Opera Studies," *PMLA* 121, no. 3 (2006): 802–10.

shows his translation to be a quite literal rendering of Nicolas-François Guillard's original French libretto. A note by Da Ponte published in the Viennese libretto showcases both his desire to please through creative work and his discomfort with the restrictions placed on his poetic gift by Gluck's already-composed music, to which he had been forced to fit his new text. To transform the opera for the King's Theatre, arias were added and substituted to better suit the needs of the production's cast. Changes were made to the Vienna translation during rehearsals in London, including the odd inclusion of the aria "Donzelle semplici" from Gluck's *Paride ed Elena*, which contrasts, in affect and content, with music and text of *Iphigénie en Tauride*. Different modes of circulation are at the forefront of this chapter, and the movement of people, published libretti, printed scores, and manuscript copies are all considered.

Chapter 2 takes as its starting point Da Ponte's writings on translating opera. Da Ponte only mentions his opera translations once in his *Memorie*, and only in reference to one opera: *Zémire et Azor*. However, the historical record shows that this Grétry opera was translated into Italian years before Da Ponte arrived in London. The version performed at the King's Theatre in the 1790s barely differs at all from this earlier Italian translation, written by Mattia Verazi for Mannheim in 1776. A further complication can be seen in *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, which Da Ponte wrote and published in 1819, four years prior to the publication of his *Memorie*. In this document, written in English in response to a slight by an Edinburgh music critic, he includes the same anecdote about opera translation, but this time with a different opera's title: *La belle Arsène*. This chapter analyzes each opera and its respective journey from Paris to London and from French to Italian. I compare the two operas, their translations, and their receptions in London and beyond and interrogate Da Ponte's apparent confusion about them.

Chapter 3 focuses on the political climate in London in the 1790s and shows how it interacted with the King's Theatre repertoire and operations. The first part of the chapter follows a British poem published in 1759 called "Caractacus" which was adapted into a play performed in London, then adapted to a French opera in Paris (*Arvire et Évélina*, 1788) before it returned to London as *Évélina, or the Triumph of the British over the Romans* in 1797 in Da Ponte's Italian translation. The prima donna soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti sang the title role of Évélina, a historical character whose father is an ancient British king. Banti's performance as Évélina would have been especially powerful due to her famous renditions of British patriotic songs. Banti had performed two British anthems, "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia," at the King's Theatre in celebration of a British naval victory in 1794. Newspaper accounts of her performances and printed musical scores memorializing them reveal that Banti ornamented these songs in an Italian style, showing an important meeting of cosmopolitanism and British patriotism in Italian opera.

In the Conclusion to this dissertation, I venture forth from the eighteenth century into the present day. The study of the history of opera translation is important; not only as a scholarly pursuit, but also for the implications it has on modern opera performance practice. I demonstrate that Da Ponte's efforts – his frustrations and successes – have analogies to those of supertitle translators today. Resituating opera translation as a continuous practice opens up new theoretical paths for the analysis and practice of opera translation.

CHAPTER 1:
Iphigénie in Tauride, Paris, Vienna, and London

People traveled around Europe quickly and frequently in the late eighteenth century, and – in the forms of manuscripts and published scores, musical extracts purchased from publishers or scribbled in a notebook, and even as ideas slowing taking shape in the brains of traveling composers and librettists – opera did too. Operas were often performed in different versions in different opera houses in order to better cater to audiences' musical, formal, and linguistic tastes. Rudolph Rasch affirms that "One cannot study the history of musical life in Europe without studying the circulation of musical works: the transfer of musical items from one place in Europe to another."[65] During the Enlightenment, this transfer occurred on a massive scale. Musical artifacts were not always imported intact. As Ralph explains, "in many cases, music underwent changes when it was exported, because of differences in musical practice between the exporting and the importing places."[66] These changes, otherwise known as translations or adaptations, are the focus of this study. In this dissertation on the whole, and in this chapter in particular, we consider how people, objects, and ideas relating to music circulated throughout Europe, what routes they took, and how they were changed along the way. As Rosamond McGuinness has pointed out, some modes of circulation move music from one location to another, but some music circulation is internal to a

[65] Rudolf Rasch, "Introduction," in *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900 : A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 1.
[66] Ibid.

geographic location, motivated more by social and economic concerns than by issues of style.[67]

Gluck's French-language opera *Iphigénie en Tauride,* with a text by Nicolas-François Guillard, was premiered in Paris in 1778, appeared in Vienna in German in 1781, then in Italian in that same city in 1783, before appearing in Italian at the King's Theatre in London in 1796. In this chapter, I examine Lorenzo Da Ponte's Italian-language translation of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, which he wrote for Vienna and then imported to London. The opera's circulation relied on a complicated network of political, cultural, musical, and linguistic factors. The opera was adapted and translated to meet audience expectations, but those very expectations were in a state of flux, as audience tastes varied not only from city to city but also within the cities themselves. Complex processes of translation, adaptation, and circulation allowed Gluck's opera to reach diverse audiences and to speak to politically and culturally important issues in all three cities.

Gluck as Code Switcher

Linguistic Code Switching

Like many of the figures in this dissertation, Christoph Willibald Gluck journeyed all over Europe in pursuit of profitable artistic projects and collaborations. He traveled from Bavaria, where he was born in 1714, to major cosmopolitan centers including Milan, Prague, Paris, and Vienna.[68] Although he made his home in all of these cities, his tongue often betrayed his foreignness. According to Salieri's memoirs, Gluck had trouble coping linguistically with his peripatetic lifestyle, mixing his languages uncontrollably:

---

[67] Rosamond McGuinness, "External and Internal Factors in the Circulation of Music in London around 1700," in *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900: A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, ed. Rudolf Rasch, v. 2 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 35.

[68] Bruce Alan Brown and Julian Rushton, "Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed August 31, 2013, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/11301.

> Gluck, whose native tongue was Czech, expressed himself in German only with effort, and still more so in French and Italian, a difficulty only increased by the paralytic condition he suffered during his last years. Usually he mixed several languages together during a conversation, and so the farewell speech to his favorite protégé went as follows: "Ainsi ... mon cher ami ... lei parte domani per Parigi .... Je Vous souhaite ... di cuore un bon voyage.... Sie gehen in eine Stadt, wo man schatzet ... die fremden Kunstler ... e lei si fara onore ... ich zweifle nicht," and as I embraced him he said in addition: "ci scriva, mais bien souvent."[69]

In this passage, Gluck seems ill at ease with French, Italian, and German, the most common languages spoken in continental Europe at the time. Gluck's native language was probably Czech, which did not circulate as readily and was therefore of a lesser value in the greater European context.[70] Gluck may have been less suave in social settings than was Salieri, who gently ridiculed Gluck in this passage as a quaint and bumbling foreigner. However, Gluck's life shuttling in between languages may have also made him more attuned to the aesthetics of nuances between languages, in other words, issues of translation. In an era in which translations and adaptations were generally undertaken without any input from the work's original creators, Gluck took an unusually active interest in representations of his operas far beyond their premiere performances. In several cases, Gluck himself conducted or supervised these changes to his operas, participating in the process of rearranging, cutting, adding, and even translating his works to present them successfully to both Parisian and Viennese audiences.[71]

---

[69] Heartz leaves the mixed-language passage untranslated. I translate it here to demonstrate that the ideas flow seamlessly into one another even as the language changes: "Well then [French] my dear friend [Italian], you leave tomorrow for Paris [It.]. I wish you [Fr.], from my heart [It.], a great trip [Fr.]. You go to a city where foreign artists are appreciated [German], and it will do you honor [It.], I have no doubt [Ger.]. Write to us [It.] but often [Fr.]." Quoted in Daniel Heartz, "Coming of Age in Bohemia: The Musical Apprenticeships of Benda and Gluck," *The Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 4 (1988): 524.

[70] Heartz presents a large volume of conflicted accounts about Gluck's mother tongue. He seems to think that it was most likely Czech, but that there is not enough evidence to prove that definitively. Heartz, "Coming of Age in Bohemia: The Musical Apprenticeships of Benda and Gluck."

[71] Margaret Butler, "Gluck's Alceste in Bologna: Production and Performance at the Teatro Comunale, 1778," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 727–76; Patricia Howard, "Gluck's Two Alcestes: A Comparison," *The Musical Times* 115, no. 1578 (1974): 642–43; Patricia Howard, *C. W. Von Gluck: Orfeo*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

If Salieri's transcription of Gluck's speech patterns are a truthful representation of how Gluck communicated, then Gluck appears to have participated in a practice now known as "code switching." There are many different definitions for that term, but most generally, code switching refers to the multilingual practice of alternating between languages without much conscious thought.[72] Code switching has been traced extensively in the context of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but it is a phenomenon that is difficult to study in earlier eras precisely due to issues of transcription. Before the advent of audio recording technologies, it was nearly impossible to preserve records of individuals' speech. The closest we have is writing, which is in itself a type of translation of heard sounds into marks on a page. Scholars have taken this corpus of written materials – private correspondences, memoirs, works of fiction and the dialogic passages contained therein – and have made many strides in extrapolating from them hypotheses about larger-scale linguistic practice.

Arja Nurmi and Päivi Pahta are two philologists of the English language and scholars of translation who have written on the occurrence of code-switching practices in the letters of eighteenth-century Englishmen and -women. In a 2010 essay about Thomas Twining, a member of the famous tea-trading family who was a scholar of classics as well as a clergyman, Nurmi and Pahta demonstrate how Twining, a monolingual speaker of English, utilized his scholastic knowledge of other languages, such as Greek, Latin, French, and Italian, in his sermons, scholarly writings, and personal correspondence.[73] Examinations of Twining's letters reveal evidence of a type of code-switching that I

[72] Barbara E Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511576331.

[73] Interestingly, one of Twining's correspondents was none other than Charles Burney. Päivi Pahta and Arja Nurmi, "Preacher, Scholar, Brother, Friend: Social Roles and Code-Switching in the Writings of Thomas Twining," in *Social Roles and Language Practices in Late Modern English*, ed. Minna Nevala et al., Pragmatics & Beyond, new ser., v. 195 (Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 2010), 143.

would describe as "cosmopolitan." In his letters, Twining inserts words and phrases that are neither quotations from well-known foreign sources nor pieces of widely-known terminology (such as the Italian word "bravo"). Rather, Twining adds these words and phrases to his letters because he knows that he and the person to whom he is writing share a common vocabulary in these other languages.[74] Twining operates under the common and correct assumption that educated members of English society, even those who, like himself, are not fluent in any language other than English, have a certain facility in a number of other languages.

Twining's case is by no means identical to Gluck's. For example, Twining was living at home, while Gluck was living abroad. However, this scholarship on eighteenth-century European code-switching speaks to the prominence of multilingual practices in eighteenth-century Europe. Although Salieri pokes fun at Gluck, he does not pretend that he cannot comprehend Gluck's linguistically jumbled speech. Gluck did not need to become fully fluent in any common continental European language in particular because there was a large population of people throughout Europe who could switch languages right alongside him – people who "use[d] multilingual resources in the negotiation of their social identities and relationships."[75] In the late eighteenth-century, educational opportunities were not as stratified as they had been decades earlier, and most members of society found that even a rudimentary knowledge of more than one modern European language was useful in their daily lives.[76] This was partially because a larger percentage of city-dwellers were willing and able to travel during this time period, either for pleasure, as in the Grand Tour, or to promote their careers, as was the case for many of the figures

[74] Pahta and Nurmi, "Preacher, Scholar, Brother, Friend: Social Roles and Code-Switching in the Writings of Thomas Twining."

[75] Ibid., 137.

[76] Ibid., 147.

in this dissertation (Gluck, Da Ponte, and Banti, to name just a few) who came to Vienna, Paris, and London in search of fame and fortune. As social psychologist John Edwards attests:

> There is certainly a correlation between simple mobility and multilingualism. Scholarly and diplomatic interaction and exchange, for example, have always necessitated multilingual facility among an élite. But daily physical mobility is also important, accounting for a more widespread, non-élite multilingualism.[77]

Analyzing Gluck as a cosmopolitan man who was, like Da Ponte, at home everywhere and at home nowhere, allows us to examine his operas' circulation, adaptation, and translation in a new light. Gluck's operas were aesthetic marvels that frequently broke with previous generic conventions. However, much political, cultural, aesthetic, and linguistic work was required to allow these operas to travel beyond the context for which they were originally composed. As John Edwards writes, "Despite multilingual competence, there arise many occasions when some means of bridging a language gap is required."[78]

Musical Code Switching

Besides having to ford linguistic divides with his cobbled-together speech, Gluck, in his travels, also had to bridge gaps of musical taste with his compositions. Before moving from Vienna to Paris in 1773, Gluck anticipated the obstacles he would face in addressing his music to a French audience. He wrote, "There will be considerable opposition because it will run counter to national prejudices against which reason is no defense."[79]

---

[77] John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London ; New York: Routlege, 1994), 2.

[78] Ibid., 39.

[79] Quoted in Antonia Fraser, *Marie Antoinette: The Journey* (New York: N.A. Talese/Doubleday, 2001), 112. Musicologist Julia Doe summarizes Gluck's precarious position in Parisian culture as follows: "Gluck was viewed as a threat to the French tradition before he was adopted as its savior." Julia Doe, "French Opera at the Italian Theater (1762-93): Opéra Comique and the Development of National Style in France" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2013), 89.

The "national prejudice" to which Gluck referred was the fact that many members of the French audience emphatically preferred music they perceived to be French, as epitomized by earlier composers, for example Lully (incidentally an Italian by birth) and Rameau, over foreign music.[80]

Gluck's operas were not classically French, but they were not stylistically Italian either, or Viennese, or even Bohemian. Gluck's style, like his linguistic code switching, was cosmopolitan, and in *Iphigénie en Tauride* he integrated a number of European musical styles.[81] As classicist Edith Hall points out:

> It is no wonder that *Iphigenie en Tauride* proved so successful when performed in languages other than French…it was designed to be transportable from its very inception. Whereas opera seria had never traveled well, since it was tailored to fit and flatter the vocal strengths of the singers for whom it was composed, Gluck's reform operas were designed to transcend cultural divides.[82]

Iphigénie en Tauride is evidence of Gluck's reformation of opera precisely because it combined elements of Italian opera (its lyricism) and French opera (its dramatic impetus), to create a new style in which words and music were more integrated, and entertainment served drama. In fact, *Iphigénie en Tauride* has been called "the defining

---

[80] The battle between French and Italian musical style, which took place through the circulation of inflammatory pamphlets mainly between 1752 and 1754 is known as the *querelle des bouffons*. The issues discussed during the *querelle* were still highly contested in Paris throughout the late eighteenth century. For more information, see, among many others: Mark Darlow, *Dissonance in the Republic of Letters: The Querelle Des Gluckistes et Des Piccinnistes* (London Leeds: Legenda, Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2013); Robert M. Isherwood, "Nationalism and the Querelle Des Bouffons," in *D'un Opéra L'autre: Hommage à Jean Mongrédien*, ed. J. Mongrédien et al. (Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1996); and Elisabeth Cook, "Querelle Des Bouffons," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed August 26, 2013, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/50010.

[81] Bruce Alan Brown and Julian Rushton, "Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von." Gluck's cosmopolitan outlook also extended to include England, though not through music. Gluck assimilated English actor David Garrick's realist acting methods into his own dramatic shapings of the opera. Interestingly, Jean-Georges Noverre, the dancer and ballet master credited with creating the *ballet d'action*, which also contributed to the reformation of French theater, wrote of Garrick that "He was so natural, his expression was so lifelike, his gestures, features and glances were so eloquent and so convincing, that he made the action clear even to those who did not understand a word of English." (Quoted in Amber Youell, "Opera at the Crossroads of Tradition and Reform in Gluck's Vienna" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012), 121.)

[82] Edith Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: A Cultural History of Euripides' Black Sea Tragedy*, Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 190.

moment in the victory of reform opera over the familiar opera seria."[83] As Historian John Rosselli noted, the fact that these reforms were not overtly political and that many of the reform operas "had no patriotic or national content," is what paved the way for the operas to be performed in turn for different audiences in diverse cosmopolitan centers.[84]

Gluck, Marie-Antoinette, and the Iphigénie Operas

Gluck was based in Vienna from 1752 to 1773, and he served as music tutor to the Marie-Antoinette during her childhood. Antonia Fraser, in her biography of the queen, even goes so far as to assert that Marie-Antoinette's "love of the music of Gluck – could literally be said to have been inculcated in her mother's womb."[85] The personal bond between Gluck and his student was likewise strong,[86] and when Gluck moved to Paris in November of 1773, a transfer which Julian Rushton describes as "inevitable,"[87] it was as much because he was drawn to Marie-Antoinette's side as because he was intrigued by the French forms of opera that he had been actively studying. Marie-Antoinette supported her former teacher wholeheartedly in Paris, as in Vienna, and without her support Gluck's career in Paris would certainly have suffered.

Gluck's association with Marie-Antoinette protected him somewhat from the ongoing battle between what style and nationality of music was fit to present in a Parisian theater. Marie-Antoinette, despite her Austrian origins, had, with her marriage to Louis XVI in 1770, become a charismatic symbol of the French monarchy. When Gluck's opera *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774) was performed in Paris, it was just after Marie-Antoinette's

[83] Ibid., 184.

[84] John Rosselli, "Music and Nationalism in Italy," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001), 183.

[85] Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, 5.

[86] Fraser also reports that Gluck, in March of 1778, was responsible for reporting details of Marie-Antoinette's menstrual cycle back to her mother, Maria Theresa. See Ibid., 46, 160.

[87] Bruce Alan Brown and Julian Rushton, "Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von."

ascension to the throne, and many audience members were in her thrall, wanting to ingratiate themselves to her. In the opera, the character Iphigénie is the daughter of King Agamemnon and Queen Clytemnestre of Mycenae. Agamemnon is told by an oracle that in order for the Greek fleet to travel swiftly to Troy, Agamemnon needs to sacrifice Iphigénie at the altar of Diane. Agamemnon struggles mightily with this knowledge, as Iphigénie prepares herself for what she thinks will be her marriage to Achilles, her betrothed. Agamemnon is waiting at the altar not to join his daughter in marriage to Achilles, but to sacrifice her to Diane. However, at the end of Act 2 he resolves that he would rather die himself than commit this terrible act. In Act 3, Iphigénie decides it is her duty to serve as the sacrifice, saying farewell to her parents and her betrothed. At the very last moment, the sacrifice is interrupted, as Diane has decided she does not need the sacrifice after all.

During the part of the opera in which Iphigénie is preparing for her wedding to Achilles, a chorus gathers around her, singing triumphantly: "Let us sing, let us celebrate our Queen."[88] When this passage was performed in Paris, the audience began to applaud Marie-Antoinette, who, full of emotion, was forced to acknowledge the affirmation from her seat in the theater.[89] When the chorus tried to continue with the opera, the audience called for an encore of the same chorus, shouting, "Long live the Queen."[90] Thus, the ancient Greek, ill-fated princess Iphigénie became associated with France's new queen.

Iphigénie en Tauride was a sequel to *Iphigénie en Aulide*. Between the first opera and the second, some time has passed, and Iphigénie's fortunes have changed. She has

[88] "Chantons, célébrons notre reine." Jeremy Hayes, "Iphigénie En Tauride (i)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (Oxford University Press, n.d.).

[89] For more extensive plot summaries of these operas, including notes on how Gluck's musical innovations interact with the plot, see Jeremy Hayes, "Iphigénie En Aulide," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (Oxford University Press, n.d.); Hayes, "Iphigénie En Tauride (i)."

[90] Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, 132. This anecdote is referred to by James Johnson, but he incorrectly refers to the opera being sung as *Iphigénie en Tauride*. See James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 68.

gone from a Queen to a captive. When the action picks up in Tauris, Agamemnon has been murdered by Clytemnestra, and their son, Oreste has killed Clytemnestra in turn. Iphigénie also believes that her brother Oreste has been killed, and she wishes to die in order to be reunited with him. Iphigénie is a priestess of Diane. The King of Tauris, Thoas, demands that a stranger be sacrificed to the gods in an attempt to stop a terrible tempest that has come over the land. Two young Greek men had been shipwrecked in the storm, and they are deemed to be good victims for a sacrifice. They are Oreste and his friend Pylade, but Iphigénie does not recognize them. Iphigénie, unnerved at the idea she is to sacrifice these strangers, visits Oreste in prison as he awaits his fate, and there learns of the death of her parents. Oreste also tells Iphigénie, whom he also does not recognize, that he (Oreste) has died as well. The time comes for the sacrifice, but Iphigénie feels for the two Greek captives and does not want to sacrifice either of them. She decides that one of them will die and the other will bring a message to Greece for her. Oreste requests to die, and Pylade is named the messenger. As Iphigénie is about to sacrifice Oreste, the two recognize one another, and Iphigénie cannot complete her orders. Thoas is angry that one stranger has been sent away alive and the other has not yet been sacrificed. He wants to sacrifice Oreste himself, but Pylade has since returned from Greece with an army, and kills Thoas before the sacrifice can be made. The opera ends after Diane demands that Thoas' people return her statues to the Greeks and proclaims Oreste King of Mycenae. Oreste and Iphigénie return home.

Although the excesses of patriotic enthusiasm reported at performances of *Iphigénie en Aulide* were not repeated at performances of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the operas were performed in such short succession that the character of Iphigénie was still associated with Marie-Antoinette. In 1779, the Revolution was still a few years off, and royal figures still had a significance for Parisian audiences. *Iphigénie en Tauride* may still have been

associated with royalty, but it conjured a very different image of royal life. Gluck's opera did not display heroes and heroines in magnificent garb, surrounded by shimmering jewels and shining thrones. As Edith Hall writes, "The new appeal of Gluck's shabby, distressed, and emotionally accessible heroes…can be partly explained by the striking evolution in taste under the late *ancient régime* when more lower-class people began to attend the theatres."[91] In *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the character of Thoas is portrayed in a negative light, although he is a king.[92] In this way, the opera would have appealed to audience members with Enlightenment sensibilities and a desire to see more social equality in Paris, as well as to members of high society who considered Marie-Antoinette to be the paragon of all virtues. Gluck fell into this second camp; he dedicated the opera to Marie-Antoinette, praising Her Majesty for supporting all arts and for appreciating the unique nature of his work.

Sources for the Iphigénie Operas

Gluck's two Iphigénie operas may have defied generic conventions, but they simultaneously took part in a trend: the subject of Iphigénie was extremely popular and was frequently tapped for operas around this time. The best known source of the Iphigénie stories come from Euripides' plays *Iphigenia at Aulis* (c. 405 BCE) and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (c. 412 BCE), which combine earlier legends including an Athenian myth on the subject, portions of the epic poem *Cypria* (now lost), and Aeschylus's *Oresteia*.[93] In eighteenth-century Europe, Racine's play *Iphigénie* (1674), which focused on the character's time at Aulis, and even his uncompleted sketch of a play called

[91] Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris*, 194. Other scholars have pointed to this same evolution in taste to explain the popularity of comic operas during this time.

[92] Ibid., 196.

[93] Michael Ewans, *Opera from the Greek: Studies in the Poetics of Appropriation* (Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 32.

Iphigénie en Tauride (1676), were more well-known in the eighteenth century than Euripides' ancient version.[94] There were over nineteen representations of the Iphigénie legends performed onstage between 1640 and 1737,[95] and if we only focus on operas, there were six between 1755 and 1771.[96] After Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1778) and Piccini's rival version of the same name (1781), "the story then fell out of favour," according to Michael Ewans, "perhaps because its subject matter did nothing to address the concerns of a Europe traumatized by the aftershocks of the French Revolution (which also effectively put an end to the genre of *tragédie lyrique*)."[97] Throughout this chapter we will continue to discuss the political resonances of the Iphigénie myth, and especially Gluck's version, which were felt by audiences not only in Paris, but in Vienna and London as well.

In the long history of adaptation and translation of the Iphigénie myths one major theme stands out that is interesting to trace: the theme of heterosexual romantic love. Euripides' drama does not contain any trace of this theme, which some scholars claim was in keeping with the generic conventions of the time.[98] Many plays based on the myth

---

[94] Julie E. Cumming, "Gluck's Iphigenia Operas: Sources and Strategies," in *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita P. McClymonds (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 238.

[95] Reinhard Strohm, "Iphigenia's Curious Ménage à Trois in Myth, Drama, and Opera," in *(Dis)embodying Myths in Ancien Régime Opera: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Bruno Forment (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2012), 117–38.

[96] These six settings were based on the same two libretti, by Marco Coltellini and Mattia Verazi, but they were performed all over Europe. Antonio Mazzoni's 1756 setting of Coltellini's libretto *Ifigenia in Tauride*, premiered in Treviso; Tommaso Traetta's 1763 setting of the same Coltellini libretto, premiered in Vienna; Gian Francesco de Majo's 1764 setting of Mattia Verazi's libretto, also called *Ifigenia in Tauride*, premiered in Mannheim; Carlo Monza's 1766 setting of the same Verazi libretto, premiered in Turin under the title *Oreste*; Baldassare Galuppi's 1768 setting of Coltellini's libretto, premiered in St. Petersburg; Niccolò Jomelli's 1771 setting of Verazi's libretto premiered in Naples. (See Julie E. Cumming, "Iphigenia in Tauris," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, n.d.) Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* can be viewed as the "climax" of this history of *Iphigénie* adaptations. (Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris*, 192.)

[97] Ewans, *Opera from the Greek*, 36.

[98] "Romantic love, the staple of the modern drama and novel, was hardly known to the Greeks, whose romantic affection was friendship, such as that of Orestes and Pylades, or Achilles and Patroclus." G. Smith, *Aeschylus & Sophocles.-v. 2. Euripides*, Specimens of Greek Tragedy (New York: Macmillan & Company, 1893), x. Other scholars might argue that the fact that only a small percentage of plays written in this period

performed in Italy, France, and England from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries diverge from the ancient convention of avoiding such love, and they "elaborate on love and jealousy motivations,"[99] in keeping with the contemporary interest in love plots on stage. In Racine's 1676 sketch of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, a romantic interest is added: Thoas' son loves Iphigénie. Needless to say, Thoas does not approve.[100] In John Dennis's *Iphigenia* (1700), Oreste falls in love with Iphigenia before they realize they are siblings.[101] The operatic versions created during this time period also added love interests, as love was a major theme explored in operas of every genre. In fact, in Mattia Verazi's libretto for *Ifigenia in Tauride*, set by Gian Francesco de Majo in 1764, there are "two star-crossed love triangles," since two different kings, Thoas and Merodate, love Iphigénie.[102]

Gluck and Guillard's version of the Iphigénie myth was most directly based on Claude Guimond de La Touche's well-received 1757 play *Iphigénie en Tauride*. This version dispensed with the love stories that had been added for centuries and instead adapted the myth into a typical neoclassical tragedy, complete with five acts in rhyming Alexandrines. Guillard started with this version as his source and then incorporated some details from Euripides' original.[103] Scholars have observed that despite Guillard's knowledge of the original Ancient Greek source, he chose to change Euripides' play quite substantially by adding Christian elements to the pre-Christian setting of the Ancient Greek world. For example, Guillard's Oreste is tortured by a fear of hell, and his repentance is central to the opera's plot. The Greek Furies are, anachronistically, forces

---

have survived to the present makes it difficult to say for certain what position hetrosexual romantic love held in the repertoire.

[99] Strohm, "Iphigenia's Curious Ménage à Trois in Myth, Drama, and Opera," 137.

[100] *Ibid., 124.*

[101] Ibid., 133.

[102] Ewans, *Opera from the Greek*, 37.

[103] Ibid.

of Christian guilt. As Ewans simply puts it, "Gluck contrives to have the best of two different worlds."[104] Thus, before *Iphigénie en Tauride* began its travels, it was already a hybrid – neither French nor Italian in style, neither a straightforward story about royalty nor one about the downtrodden, neither old nor new, neither Christian nor pagan.

The Paris Reception of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*

When *Iphigénie en* Tauride premiered in Paris on May 18, 1779, a critic from the *Journal de Paris* immediately noticed what made the opera different from any other that had graced the Paris Opéra's stage:

> We do not think it would be useless to remark that the word 'love' is never uttered in the course of all four acts that make up this piece and it is without a doubt the first example of this kind to be presented at the Opera Theatre.[105]

In the eighteenth century at the Paris Opera, the convention of having a love plot was so strong that *Iphigénie en Tauride*, in not including romantic love, became "the first of its kind." In this way, Guillard's reliance on an ancient source made his *Iphigénie en Tauride* a novelty.

The opera was praised at its Paris premiere for its attention to its sources, its inclusion of sympathetic characters and its use of creative orchestration. Even unexpected changings of the cast due to illness in subsequent performances did not dampen its popularity. [106] The *Journal de Paris* not only printed reviews of many of the individual performances throughout May and June of 1779, it also printed the vocal line and text of two arias: Pylade's "Unis des la plus tendre enfance" and Iphigénie's "D'une

---

[104] Ibid., 41.

[105] "Nous ne croyons pas inutile de remarquer que le mot Amour n'est pas prononcé dans le cours entier des quatre Actes qui composent cette Piece, & c'est sans doute le premier exemple de ce genre donné au Théâtre de l'Opéra." "Opéra," *Journal de Paris*, no. 139 (May 19, 1779): 558–59.

[106] "Opéra." *Journal de Paris*, no. 142 (May 22, 1779): 569–72.

image hélas trop chéris."[107] However, *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s massive success seemed for a time like it might have an expiration date, at least in Paris. When the opera was revived in the more uncertain political climate of 1790, some members of the audience cheered while others booed and threw rotten fruit.[108] The fruit-throwers, who were most likely reacting against the opera's royal characters, may have been disappointed when in 1796 the revolutionary Jean Baptiste Leclerc wrote strongly in favor of Gluck. Leclerc admitted that Gluck had been imported to Paris to be a mouthpiece for the royalty, but he also asserted that Gluck's music, perhaps accidentally, was spurring on the anti-monarchist movement:

> Driven by national vanity, Antoinette brought the celebrated German [Gluck] to France, and recreated dramatic music for us. In this she was unwise. For it is not at all inaccurate to say that the revolution accomplished in music shook the government: the chords awoke French generosity, and the energy that enlarged our souls at last burst out. The throne was shattered. And now the friends of liberty have used music in their turn, employing these same vibrant sounds this German composer produced.[109]

We have seen that not only was Gluck not German, but that he also had close ties to the French monarchy. However, Leclerc's ignorance, willful or otherwise, of this fact is well-suited to his narrative. According to Leclerc, Gluck is only able to save French opera and, in fact, the French soul, through being a foreigner, someone who is not tied by birth to the social hierarchies of the *ancien régime*.

---

[107] "Air de Iphigénie En Tauride," *Journal de Paris*, no. 146 (May 26, 1779): 585–88; "Air de Iphigénie En Tauride," *Journal de Paris*, no. 151 (May 31, 1779): 605–8.

[108] Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011), 103.

[109] Quoted in Simon Goldhill, "Who Killed Gluck?," in *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage.*, ed. Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2010).

Iphigénie in Vienna

In 1781, when *Iphigénie en Tauride* arrived in Vienna, the country was mourning the loss of their Empress Maria Theresa, the mother of Marie-Antoinette, who had died on November 29, 1780. The opera's association with monarchy, which added to its popularity before the French Revolution but was viewed more ambivalently during and after, was not problematic in Vienna, where the Empress's memory would have been on the minds of Viennese audience members when Gluck's opera was performed on October 23, 1781.

Iphigénie auf Deutsch

The version performed on this occasion was not sung in French but in German, by the National Singspiel company (established by Joseph II in 1778) in a translation by Johann Baptist Edler von Alxinger.[110] Gluck rewrote the opera's music to better fit the new text, and the translation was therefore not a mere contrafactum of the Paris original, but a new version, crafted and approved by the original composer. However, the collaboration between Gluck and Alxinger was significantly different from that between Gluck and Guillard. Gluck created his music from scratch for Guillard's libretto but only modified it to fit Alxinger's translation.

Mozart admired Alxinger's translation so much that he wanted him to revise and translate *Idomeneo* into German. However, Joseph von Sonnenfels strongly critiqued *Iphigénie* in its German-language incarnation. Sonnenfels was a moralist who promoted Enlightenment ideas as well as German nationalist sentiments, and as such he critiqued Oreste and Pylade for their weaknesses of character.[111] Sonnenfels did like the music,

[110] Hayes, "Iphigénie En Tauride (i)."

[111] Joseph von Sonnenfels, "Nach Der Zweiten Vorstellung Der Iphigenia in Tauris: Wien, 1781," in *Deutsches Museum*, ed. Heinrich Christian Boie and Christian Wilheim von Dohm, vol. 1 (Leipzig:

however, and explained his preferences by noting that the Germanic Gluck was talented while the French Guillard was insipid, calling *Iphigénie en Tauride* "a monument celebrating the victory of the German Amphion [Zeus's son] over the Gallic narcissim."[112] Surprisingly, Sonnenfels' apparent disdain for the French libretto did not stop him from criticizing how Alxinger's translation diverged from it. For example, he cited the line "Dieux! fléchissés son cœur" in the duet between Oreste and Pylade, which Alxinger rendered as "Erweich, o Gott! Sein Herz." By making "Gods," which appears in the French in the plural, into the singular "God," Alxinger had introduced an anachronism that Sonnenfels found unpleasant. In fact, Sonnenfels seemed to think that he could have done a better job: "I thought it could be put: 'Soften, O Zeus, his heart.' Or, if not for the music, 'You gods, bend his heart. Protect me only my friend,' and so on."[113] Sonnenfels also recognized the difficulty of Alxinger's task and the unenviable choices the translator was forced to make:

> Here he [Alxinger] stands in a dilemma, between the mediocre text and the sublime music.... One must note the effort and patience that he employed to leave so little stiffness in his translation.[114]

Sonnenfels had the language skills to compare and contrast the French and the German, and other similarly educated people in Vienna would have been able to do the same. Considering that Sonnenfels admitted that the French was naturally more poetic by

---

Weygandliche Buchhandler, 1782). One such weakness that Sonnenfels observed is that Oreste and Pylade talk about their friendship and how they will die for one another rather than actually joining forces to correct the evils of Thoas's reign. The *Iphigenie* play by de la Touche had been popular in Vienna in 1761, so Viennese audiences were already familiar with the outlines of the opera's plot in 1781.

[112] Highlighted and quoted in Martin Nedbal, *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera (New York: Routledge, 2017), 32. The original German, also quoted by Nedbal, is: "Siegesdenkmal des deutschen Amphion über den gallischen Narzissismus."

[113] Sonnenfels, "Nach Der Zweiten Vorstellung Der Iphigenia in Tauris: Wien, 1781," 404. "Ich dächte, es liesse sich sezen: 'Erweich, o Zeus! sein Herz'; oder, wenn anders die Musik nicht einspricht: 'Ihr Götter neigt sein Herz! Schüzt mir nur meinen Freund u.s.w.'"

[114] Ibid. "Aber hier stand er in der Klemme zwischen dem mittelmäßigen Tette, und der vortrefflichsten Musik... viel lieber muß man ihm die Mühe und Geduld in Anschlag bringen, die er daran gewendet, nur so wenig Steife in seiner Uebersezung zu lassen."

virtue of being the original, why was *Iphigénie en Tauride* translated for Vienna at all? Furthermore, why was it translated into German in 1781 and then into Italian just two years later in the same city?

The Changeable Cultural Identity of Vienna

In Vienna, a quick succession of rulers during the last decades of the eighteenth century changed the official imperial attitude towards language, determining which languages were fit for politics and the arts. These changeable policies in turn secured and destroyed the livelihoods of theater personnel. Maria Theresa brought German and French theaters under the control of the court and prohibited all works that were not of foreign extraction, preferring the exotic to the home-grown. Opera buffa flourished in Vienna in the late 1760s through early 1770s, and French opera was allowed from 1768 to 1772 and from 1775 to 1776. However, when Joseph II reorganized the theaters in Vienna in 1776, he dismissed all of the opera buffa and ballet troupes, minimizing foreign influences. Vienna was left with a troupe to perform German-language spoken dramas, and the Burgtheater orchestra to play overtures and entr'actes. These measures saved money, but more importantly they promoted Joseph II's Germanizing agenda, apparent in the Burgtheater's new name: "das teutsche National Theater." Joseph II's plan for Vienna's entertainment agenda was, however, influenced by public opinion in 1778. A troupe for the performance of German opera was reinstated in 1778, followed in 1783 by an Italian opera buffa troupe. Under Leopold II, beginning in 1790, German operas and Singspiels, including those of Mozart, were relegated to secondary status as simple opera buffa. Opera seria again prevailed, and French ballet returned to the city.[115]

[115] This summary of a Vienna struggling to come to terms with its cultural and linguistic identity in politics and in the theater is much indebted to Bruce Alan Brown and John Rice's contributions to Neal Zaslaw, ed., *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*, 1st North American ed, Man & Music (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1989).

Lorenzo Da Ponte arrived in Vienna in 1781, in between Joseph II's dismissal of the opera buffa troupe and his change of heart that let the troupe back in. In a Europe informed by change and exchange, Da Ponte had learned the serious nature of navigating between languages and cultures. Da Ponte was a traveler like Gluck and many others at the time, someone who had cut ties with his home and set off to search out fame and fortune among strangers, seeking hospitality in the spirit of true cosmopolitanism. Da Ponte spent the years 1781 to 1791, some of the most productive of his career, in Vienna, navigating the city's political changes while writing for the theater.

Da Ponte's first assignment upon his arrival in the city was to translate *Iphigénie en Tauride* into Italian for the newly reinstated opera buffa troupe. It was a confusing time to be Italian in Vienna. Da Ponte's employer, Joseph II, spoke fluent Italian, as did most members of the imperial court, but at the same time the proverb "Welsch thut keinem Deutschen gut," or "Italians don't do Germans any good," was popular.[116] Unlike Alxinger's translation of two years earlier, Da Ponte's work was not supervised or approved by Gluck. Minor alterations did need to be made to the music in order for the text to fit it well, but Gluck did not take part in this process, perhaps because of his quickly deteriorating health.[117] As such, Da Ponte needed to navigate this tricky assignment on his own.

Iphigénie in Italiano

The Viennese publisher Kurzbeck published Da Ponte's Italian-language translation, titled *Ifigenia in Tauride*, in 1783. The libretto was printed in a bilingual edition, with Da Ponte's Italian text on the left-hand side of the booklet and Alxinger's German on the

[116] Nedbal, *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, 11. Nedbal wittily translates the proverb into a version that also rhymes in English: "Italian charm is a German's harm."

[117] John A Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 311.

right-hand side. The title page in Italian indicates Da Ponte as the translator with some fanfare: "Tradotta dal francese in Italiano, dall'Abate Lorenzo Da Ponte Poeta de' Teatri Imperiali," while the German title page leaves off Da Ponte's name, saying merely "aus dem Französchischen des Herrn Guillard."[118] There is one portion of the publication that is included only in Italian and not in German. This is an "Avvertimento," or "Warning," which is presumably by Da Ponte, although it is not signed. It reads:

> The difficulties that the translator needed to overcome in this work could not be easily conceived by anyone who had not undertaken an equal task. The desire to enrich the Italian scenes with a music so excellent, and unique to its kind, animated him to begin it, a duty therefore led him to finish it. All of the licences that he took in the management of the arias, in the meter of the verses, in the punctuation, and the diversity of these, were nothing but necessities of a music tied to the sentiments, the rhythms, the words, the accents. Whoever understands things of this nature can see it for himself, and will have the courtesy and humanity to give his gracious sympathy to the translator himself.[119]

Thus, in the tone of one put-upon and beleaguered with difficult tasks (which, admittedly, Da Ponte adopts throughout most of his writings), the poet confides that he was inspired to take on the burden of this translation assignment by the fine quality of *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s music and his sense that it was a unique opera. The opera's aura of novelty had followed it from Paris to Vienna. Da Ponte, in his note, also apologizes for the liberties that he has taken with the versification and meter of the libretto, which he asserts were all necessitated by "a music tied to the feeling, the rhythm, the word, the

---

[118] Christoph Willibald Gluck and Nicolas François Guillard, *L'ifigenia in Tauride*, trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte (Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1783), 2–3. The Italian translates as: "Translated from the French into Italian by the Abbé Lorenzo Da Ponte, poet of the Imperial Theatres," while the German translates as: "From M. Guillard's French."

[119] Ibid., 1. Le difficoltà che ha dovute superar il traduttore in questo lavoro non si potrebbero facilmente concepire se non da chi ne intraprendesse uno uguale. Il desiderio di arrichir le italiane scene d'una musica tanto eccellente, e unica nel suo genere, l'animò a incominciarlo, un dovere poscia a condurlo a fine. Tutte le licenze che egli si rese nella condotta dell'arie, nel metro de' versi, nella punteggiatura, e diversità di quelli, non furono che necessità di una musica legata al sentimento, al ritmo, alla parola, all'accento. Chi s'intende di sì fatte cose potrà vederlo da per sè stesso, e avrà la gentilezza ed umanità di donar un grazioso compatimento al Traduttore medesimo.

accent." He ends by inviting anyone who would like to try such a translation himself to do so, predicting that the challenger would sympathize with him by the end.

In the warning quoted, Da Ponte purports to have been inspired by and almost in awe of Gluck's "unique" music, so much so that he feared damaging it in any way with his new words. Da Ponte's *Memorie* is extensive and detailed. However, the only mention of Gluck in this tome is pejorative and unrelated to *Iphigénie en Tauride*.[120] In fact, Da Ponte does not mention translating *Iphigénie en Tauride* at all in his *Memorie*, even though, as his first assignment in Vienna, it was necessarily a turning point in his career. Gluck's lack of involvement with the Italian-language performances of *Iphigénie en Tauride* meant that the project did not associate Da Ponte directly with any well-known personages in the European musical world, and mentioning his role in the production would not have brought him any fame. Why, though, did he not take pride in this translation, which proved to be a watershed in his early career, prefacing his productive and fulfilling collaboration with Mozart? Da Ponte took care with his translation as he completed it, as evidenced by the falsely modest warning he wrote to his readers. However, later in his career, after he had written a number of highly regarded, original opera libretti, and had won and lost fame and fortune in various European cities, he may have remembered his first assignment in Vienna, the translation of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, as nothing more than utilitarian drudge-work.

If we closely compare the original French libretto to the Italian libretto, we can see large numbers of cognate pairs, as evidenced in Table 1, which compares the French and Italian versions of Oreste's Act II recitative and aria. The structure of the Italian text is

[120] Da Ponte writes that Salieri had returned home from Paris, after the premiere of *Les Danaïdes* in 1783, "with his ear full of Gluck" ("Salieri, tornato da Parigi coll'orecchio pieno di Gluck"), disparaging the new style of music to which Salieri was drawn. Da Ponte never even mentions Guillard. Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memorie. Libretti mozartiani: Le nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, Così fan tutte. Lorenzo DaPonte.* (Milano: Garzanti, 1995), 96.

Table 1: Oreste's Act II Recitative and Aria

ORESTE Je t'ai **donné** la mort. Ce n'était pas assez que **ma main** meurtrière Eut plongé le poignard dans le coeur d'une mère, Les Dieux me réservoient pour un forfait **nouveau**, Je n'avais qu'un ami, je deviens son bourreau. **Dieux**! qui me poursuivés, **Dieu**! auteurs de mes crimes, **De l'Enfer** sous mes pas entrouvrés les abîmes; Ses supplices pour moi seront **encore** trop doux! J'ai trahi **l'amitié**, j'ai trahi **la Nature**. Des plus noirs attentats j'ai comble **la mesure.** Dieux! frappés le coupable, & justifiés-vous.	*Oreste.* Io la morte ti **do**; forse era poco Che **mia man** parricida Immerso avesse il ferro D'una madre nel cor: m'ha riserbato Ad un **nuovo** misfatto invida sorte; Ho un solo amico, ed io gli do la morte. **Dei** che mi perseguite, Dei di mie colpe autori, **Dell'inferno** gli orrori. Sotto il mio piede aprite; Per me i tormenti suoi Fien troppo dolci **ancor**. **L'amicizia** ho tradita, Tradita ho **la natura**, De' più neri attentati, Colmata ho **la misura** Il reo colpite o Numi Punite un empio cor.

quite different from that of the French. However, the vocabulary is preserved remarkably across languages.

This hyper-literal method of translation may also be the result of the history of the opera's performance in Vienna. As we have seen, Alxinger's German translation was performed in 1781, and Da Ponte's Italian version came along just two years later. As William Weber has noted: "By 1770 London and Paris were arbiters of taste within a larger European culture of consumption…. Other major cities were gradually drawn into the vortex of the two capitals to some extent."[121] Vienna was one of these "other major cities," and many Viennese opera-goers traveled to Paris periodically for business and pleasure. Some members of the audience probably would have heard *Iphigénie en Tauride* sung in the original French as well as in Alxinger's German. The audience for Da

[121] Weber, "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life," 3.

Ponte's translation would have included connoisseurs who would have been capable of discerning the quality of his Italian poetry. Some members of the audience would have also had the education and the resources to directly compare Da Ponte's translation with the French original. The French libretto had been printed in Paris, and many copies of it would have made their way to Vienna by 1783. As such, critics would not even have had to rely on their memories to judge the translation – they could have simply placed the two libretti side by side to see how closely Da Ponte's Italian hewed to the original in terms of content, aesthetics, and even text-setting techniques. Da Ponte may have purposefully stuck closely to the French in order to appease this portion of his audience.

Despite the intriguing content of the Italian-language Vienna libretto to *Iphigénie en Tauride*, few scholars have found occasion to examine it. Perhaps this is because little besides this document has been recorded about the production. Dorothea Link and Otto Michtner's lists of performances of operas in Vienna, which are meant to be comprehensive, do not mention the opera.[122] Daniela Pillgrab, in an article that focuses only on those Vienna productions in which Da Ponte directly participated, lists *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s premiere in Da Ponte's translation as December 14, 1783, citing Claudio Sartori's catalog as the source. However, she admits that much is still unknown about the production. She writes: "Possible additional performances are not mentioned [by Sartori], nor is the theatre where the première took place. I presume it should have been at the Burgtheater, as Da Ponte was theatrical poet for Italian operas at the

[122] Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792* (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998); Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne. Von die Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II (1792)*, vol. 3, Theatergeschichte Österreichs, Heft 1 (Wien; Graz; Köln: Böhlau in Komm, 1970).

Burgtheater."[123] Sheila Hodges, in her biography of Da Ponte, disagrees, claiming the opera was performed at the Kartnerthortheater, but without citing a source.[124]

Despite the lack of information available in primary and secondary sources about the Vienna performance(s) of the Italian *Iphigénie en Tauride*, there is an extant source of information that has hitherto been overlooked: a full score to the opera with Da Ponte's translation set to music. The score, held in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, seems by all indications to be a record of the Vienna version of the opera. [125] The text set in the score is identical to that in the Vienna libretto except for differences in spelling between the two versions and slight changes in vocabulary in a few places. No scene that appears in the libretto is missing in the score, and vice versa.

The score lacks performance indications, and its pages do not look as if they sustained any regular use, as they would have if used in rehearsal or performance settings. Instead, the score is well-preserved without many rips or tears. The only pencil markings in the volume are of page numbers and scene numbers, all written in the same hand as other scores in the same collection, which can probably be attributed to someone who later catalogued the scores or, more unlikely, to the scores' owner. As such, the score was likely preserved as a keepsake, rarely referenced, but valued.

The score's binding is elaborate. The cover contains the initials M.L.B. embossed in gold on red leather. The cover's borders are elaborately ornamented with vines, flowers, and even birds and rabbits. The endpaper is printed with marbled patterns.[126] These decorations indicate that the scores belonged to a wealthy owner, and in fact, the initials

---

[123] Daniela Pillgrab, "Lorenzo Da Ponte's Work for the Stage During His Time as a Librettist in Vienna," ed. Michael Hüttler, *Maske Und Kothurn*, Maske und Kothurn, 52, no. 4 (2007): 59.

[124] Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist*, 49.

[125] Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck and Nicolas François Guillard, "Ifigenia in Tauride," trans. Lorenzo Da Ponte (Musical Score, c 1783), Bibliotheque publique et universitaire.

[126] Other scores in the Neuchâtel collection have the same letters on the cover and are similarly decorated, although the exact design and coloring varies from cover to cover.

most likely belonged to a princess of Naples, Louisa Maria (also known as **M**aria **L**ouisa) of the House of **B**ourbon. The Neuchâtel library does not have any records as to the provenance of the scores, but the scores themselves give away their owner's identity through a series of clues. In following these traces, we gain a window not only into the journey of this particular score, but, more broadly, into the practices and methods of musical circulation at the time.

Another score in the Neuchâtel collection is *Le Cinesi* by Giuseppe Millico. This score's title page offers a dedication "Per uso delle loro Altezze Reali: la Princ.a D. Teresa e D. Luisa Borbone." In addition, this page is beautifully signed by the copyist, Federico Fico, who places his name and title inside the figure of a bird.[127] The fact that this score is dedicated in part to someone with the initials L.B., who was, along with her sister, a singing student of Millico when he lived at Naples and therefore had an active interest in music, would imply that this Principessa Luisa Borbone was the owner of all of the scores labeled with "M.L.B." in the Neuchâtel collection.[128]

Giuseppe Millico, the singing teacher and composer, was first and foremost a well-liked castrato soprano. He had lived in Vienna from 1770 to 1774, where he sang the role of Paride in Gluck's *Paride ed Elena*, at the composer's own request.[129] While in Vienna, he also tutored Gluck's young niece in singing.[130] In 1780, he returned to Naples, where he had attended conservatory in his youth. Since Millico left Vienna three years before

---

[127] The handwriting in the Italian-language *Iphigénie en Tauride* score is different from that of Federico Fico, and it cannot be tied to Naples in that way.

[128] How the score of a French opera translated into Italian for a Vienna production arrived in Naples and then traveled on to Switzerland is a complex question for which I have not yet found a complete answer, but its history beyond the eighteenth century is not relevant for this study. Instead, I make steps towards proving that the M.L.B. score in the Neuchâtel library is of the Vienna version of the opera, either a manuscript from Vienna, or a Neapolitan copy from a Viennese version.

[129] Gerhard Croll and Irene Brandenburg, "Millico, (Vito) Giuseppe," *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

[130] Charles Burney, *The Present State Of Music In Germany, The Netherlands, And United Provinces. Or The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for A General History Of Music: In Two Volumes*, v. 1 (London: Becket, 1775), 260.

the Italian version of *Iphigénie en Tauride* had its Vienna premiere, it is not possible that he brought a copy of the score with him to Naples. However, he surely had correspondents in Vienna, perhaps even Gluck himself, who might have sent him the score.[131]

These details show the pervasive nature of the circulation of musical materials in Europe at this time, as well as to show that the audiences for Italian-language translations of French operas was not solely confined to the theater in London or Vienna. Italian consumers who were wealthy enough to afford a copy of the score also benefited from the translation. Da Ponte's translation of Guillard's French libretto, along with Gluck's music, had both intended and unintended audiences, and each group collectively received the piece differently.

Iphigénie in London

The Examiner of Plays (and his Italian-speaking Wife)

In *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s journey from Vienna to the London stage, there was an intermediate step. In London it was required that every theatrical work pass across the desk of the Examiner of Plays in the Office of the Lord Chamberlain at least fourteen days before it was to be premiered.[132] The Examiner of Plays censored all theatrical material, controlling for anything in a play or opera that could make it morally or politically objectionable to the Crown.

From November of 1778 until his death in January of 1824, John Larpent served in this role, reading and approving theatrical works. There was one problem with this arrangement – the repertoire of the King's Theatre was entirely in Italian, and John

[131] It is also possible, although not probable that Luisa Maria could have had access to the score without Millico's help since both her mother and her husband were Viennese and she lived in Vienna for the last years of her life.

[132] Dougald MacMillan, *Catalogue of the John Larpent Plays* (The Huntington Library, 1939).

Larpent had no knowledge of that language. His wife, Anna Margaretta Larpent, was fluent in French and Italian, and she helped her husband by reading this repertoire on his behalf. She kept detailed diaries between 1790 and 1830, which show how she integrated her unacknowledged work as censor of the Italian operas with her other daily tasks. An entry from April 11, 1795, for example, begins: "Rose at 8. Prayed. Wrote 5 days Journal. Breakfasted. Read an Italian Opera for Mr. Larpent. Then heard John [John James, her son] read French."[133]

About a year after Anna Larpent wrote this entry in her diary, on April 4, 1796, William Taylor, the manager of the King's Theatre, submitted a copy of *Iphigénie en Tauride* to the Lord Chamberlain's Office. This handwritten copy of the Italian libretto to *Iphigénie en Tauride* survives in the Huntington Library Collection in San Marino, California.[134] There are no obvious excisions on the part of the censor, which is unsurprising given that *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s plot generally avoids morally suspect issues. Comedies generally referenced topical political issues more overtly and therefore were more prone to censorship than tragedies.

An examination of the copy of *Iphigénie en Tauride* submitted to John Larpent reveals that it is almost identical to the printed Vienna libretto. The main difference is that Acts 1 and 2 of the Vienna version were combined to form Act 1 of the London version, and the Viennese Acts 3 and 4 likewise became London's Act 2. This structural change did not have an important effect on the opera's content or even on its pacing. In addition to this minor revision, which was carried over into the London libretto that was later printed, the Larpent libretto lacked stage directions, which were added back into

[133] Anna Larpent, *The Diaries of Anna Larpent*, vol. 1, 17 vols. (Adam Matthew Publications, n.d.).

[134] The entire Larpent Collection has been made available online by Adam Mathew Digital through its primary source collection "Eighteenth Century Drama." http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/eighteenth-century-drama/

the printed libretto. Presumably stage directions were not necessary for the submission due to the fact that the text of stage directions never reaches the ears of the audience members.

It was customary for libretti published in London at the time to be printed in a facing-pages format, with the Italian text that was sung on stage on one side of the page and an English translation of that text on the other side.[135] When Italian operas were submitted to the censor, however, the English translation was not included. This is intriguing, since if the Examiner of Plays had not happened to have been married to a woman fluent in Italian, he would have had no way to determine whether the libretti were appropriate for the public. In the nineteenth century, English translations of Italian operas were always submitted to the censors along with the original Italian libretti. In her work on the censorship of Verdi's Italian operas in London in the mid-nineteenth century, Roberta Montemorra Marvin has proven that the London censors only looked at the English translations submitted, ignoring the Italian even when its content was suspect. The London censors seemed to have the attitude that "singing the text in Italian meant that many of the subtleties which might have been objectionable in theory were not objectionable in practice, for they simply were not readily understood."[136] This resulted in the English translators censoring their own translations. The Italian sung onstage in London may have contained taboo words and themes, but the printed English translation was wiped clean of all suspect content even before the libretto passed across the censor's desk. Even as early as the eighteenth century, censorship of Italian operas

[135] These libretti were formatted just like the Vienna libretto for *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1783 that showed the German and Italian translations of the opera on facing pages.

[136] Roberta Montemorra Marvin, "The Censorship of Verdi's Operas in Victorian London," *Music and Letters* 82, no. 4 (2001): 586.

may have simply been a formality. The lack of markings in the libretti submitted to the Larpents corroborates this inference.

Thus, the *Iphigénie en Tauride* libretto submitted to John Larpent and read by his wife Anna shows more generally how Italian opera was viewed in London. The music, scenery and costumes entertained the audiences, and plots provided excuses for spectacular displays, but the text could be overlooked as the least important element, only read and approved as a formality, unlike the English-language plays declaimed on the stages of other London theaters. This may be another reason why Da Ponte, who had conscientiously made an effort to honor the original words and music of Guillard and Gluck in his Italian translation of *Iphigénie en Tauride* for Vienna, did not feel the need to issue a similar warning for London, as fewer members of the London audience were equipped to analyze and critique his Italian poetry.

The Larpent *Iphigénie en Tauride* libretto also holds interesting information about the opera's revision history. The Larpent copy is dated April 4, 1796, but the opera premiered on April 9, 1796 – only five days after it was submitted – despite Larpent's requirement that it be submitted fourteen days before the premiere.[137] Even stranger is that between the submission date and the premiere significant changes were made. We have shown that the Larpent libretto is almost identical to the libretto to the opera published in Vienna in 1783. However, the libretto to *Iphigénie en Tauride* published in London, dated 1796, and presumably published in time for the opera's King's Theatre premiere on April 9, differs from the earlier libretti considerably.

[137] MacMillan, *Catalogue of the John Larpent Plays.*

Table 2: Aria Added in London for Iphigénie

Italian	Literal English Translation	English Printed in Libretto
Deh conserva nel tuo seno,	Keep in your breast,	From that soft pity which in my heart you find,
L'opra almen del mio favor,	The work at least of my favor,	Bid balmy comfort cheer your mind,
E ti sia presente ognor	And may always be present to you	There my image deep imprest,
L'amor mio, la mia pietà.	My love, and my pity	Shall charm all your pangs to rest,
Io non so' qual forza ignota	I don't know what unknown force	Within my bosom mercy in your favor claim,
M'interessa alla tua sorte	Interests me in your fate	While a power unknown pleads in your name;
Ah! salvandoti da morte,	Ah! In saving you from death	Oh…could I save your pungent smart,
Sempre lieto il cor sara.	Always happy my heart will be.	No other comfort would then sway in my heart.

Changes for London

Two aria texts appear in the printed London libretto that are absent in both the printed Viennese libretto and the handwritten copy of the libretto submitted to Larpent. An aria was added in Act II Scene 3 of the printed London version, and the aria for Iphigénie that appeared in Act IV Scene 1 of the Vienna version was replaced by a new text in the London version (Act II Scene 8). The added aria was labeled as if it should be sung by Oreste. However, its words seem more appropriate for Iphigénie, since she has the power to save Oreste from death.[138] Although the words pertain more to Iphigénie than to Oreste, and the character designation is probably a typographical error, it is also true that the words are not unique to the situation in which Iphigénie finds herself. There are no specific references in the aria to the looming threat of human sacrifice, for

[138] The dates on the Larpent libretto (which does not include an aria for either Oreste or for Iphigénie at this juncture) and the printed King's Theatre libretto that there was very little time to adapt the libretto for London audiences. It is safe here to assume that the label "Oreste" is a typographical error.

example, or any other plot point in the opera. Instead, Iphigénie sings of her feelings – sentiments that would be at home in the breast of many opera heroines or heroes.

Because of the generic nature of the text, it is possible that this aria originated in another opera, making it a "suitcase aria." Since there is no extant score of the London version of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, it is difficult to know for sure to which melody these words were sung. The words do not seem to correspond to any existing aria of the day, which may mean that they were modified to better fit *Iphigénie en Tauride*. There is a small possibility that this aria was newly composed for the opera, with a new text by Da Ponte, but it is much more likely that the aria is an adaptation.

In the eighteenth century, even if a piece of music was to be performed in its entirety, with music written by one composer and sung in the order in which it was written, a prima donna could request that her favorite bravura aria be inserted, and her wish would have to be granted. The allowance of these "suitcase arias" was often inserted as a clause into singers' contracts, and these arias effectually made pastiches of the operas into which they were inserted.[139] A review of the April 9 premiere of *Iphigénie en Tauride* at the King's Theatre states that the opera was presented for the benefit of Madame Banti, and that Banti was given two encores.[140] This further supports the idea that the changes were made for Banti to better show off her vocal prowess. These modifications point to the singer-centric nature of the daily operations and dramaturgical practice at the King's Theatre during the late 1790s.

The second added aria text that appears in the London libretto but not the Vienna libretto is not an addition as much as a replacement. The strong similarities between the Vienna aria and its London replacement imply that this is not just another case where a

[139] Price, "Pasticcio"; Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio"; Freeman, "An 18th-Century Singer's Commission of 'Baggage' Arias."

[140] "The Opera." *True Briton*. April 11, 1796.

Table 3: Iphigénie Aria Only for Vienna

Paris French	**Paris Literal Translation**	**Vienna Italian**	**Vienna Literal Translation**
Je **t'implore** & je tremble, ô Déesse **implacable**! (A)	I beg you, trembling, O implacable Goddess.	Io **t'imploro** tremando (A) O **implacabile** Diva. (B)	I beg you, trembling, O implacable Goddess.
Dans le fond de mon cœur mets la **férocité**. (B)	In the depth of my heart lay down cruelty.	Nel fondo del mio petto (C) Tu la **ferocia** avviva; (B)	In the depth of my breast Quicken cruelty;
Etouffe de l'humanité (B) La voix plaintive et lamentable! (A)	Stifle the plaintive and piteous voice of humanity!	D'umanitade ammorza (D) I gemiti e il suon di pietà. (E)	Quench the sighs of humanity and the sound of pity.
Hélas' ah! quelle est **donc la rigueur** de mon sort: (C)	Alas! Ah! What is then the harshness of my fate:	Oddio! de la mia sorte (F) Qual é **dunque il rigore**! (G)	O God! What is then the harshness of my fate!
D'un sanglant ministère, (D) Victime involontaire! (D)	Involuntary victim of a bloody ministry!	Di un **officio** di morte (F) Ministra **involontaria**, (H)	Involuntary minister of an office of death.
J'obéis! Et mon **cœur** est en proie au remords. (C) Je t'implore, &c.	I obey! And my heart is plagued by remorse.	**Obbedisco**, e il mio **core** (G) Si strugge di martir. (I)	I obey, and my heart struggles with pain.

singer decided to substitute out an existing aria with another in her arsenal of popular virtuosic showpieces. Instead, Da Ponte may have composed an alternate version of the aria text to fit another musical setting. The fact that the Viennese and London texts differ in length (they are twelve lines and eight lines respectively) strongly implies that the two texts were intended for different settings. The Vienna version is a translation of the Act IV Scene 1 aria in the original French libretto "Je t'implore et tremble." Table 3 shows that the translation is quite literal, with liberal use of Italian cognates to the original French text. In staying so close to the French vocabulary, Da Ponte is unable to preserve the clear enclosed (or *incrociata*) rhyme scheme of the original in his Italian rendering.

The text to the new aria used for London, found in Table 4, is not dissimilar in meaning from the second half of the Vienna aria. Iphigénie laments the harshness of her

Table 4: Iphigénie Aria Only for London

London Italian	London Literal English Translation	London Printed English Translation
Ah sperar poss'io che il cielo, (A) Cangi meco il suo **rigor**? (B)	Ah can I hope that the heaven, Will change for me its harshness?	When will the wrath of Heav'n appease, (A)
Quando mai barbari Dei (C) Avrá fine il mio dolor (B)	When barbarous gods will my pain have ended?	And the mighty Gods my tortures cease? (A) Little they know how much I feel (B) The pangs that no language can reveal: (B)
No 'ad **uffizio** si spietato (D)	No, to so despised an office	No; my arm ne'er can the sad duty pay, (C)
Questa man prestar non so! (E)	I do not know how to lend this hand!	The awful rite to be performed to day. (C)
Ma guidata oh dio dal fato (D) **Ubbidire** alfin dovrò. (E)	But guided, oh god, by fate I must at last obey.	Yet to the Gods a cruel, mighty decree, (D) Obey I must, and with their will agree. (D)

fate and says that she does not want to participate in the sacrifice, but she ends up concluding that she must obey. Three of the key words in the London aria also appear in the Vienna aria (rigore, uffizio/officio and obbedire/ubbidire), tying the two versions together. The London aria's rhyme scheme (ABCB DEDE) seems more deliberate than the somewhat scattered ABCBDE FGFHGI rhyme scheme of the Vienna aria.

One way to understand how the text of this aria changed from Da Ponte's earlier Vienna version to his later London version is that it indicates progress. Da Ponte, in his first assignment as theater poet, admittedly struggled with the difficult task of working within musical constraints, and the almost ad hoc rhyme scheme of this Vienna aria may display evidence of his discomfort. In a sense, the Vienna version of the aria could be viewed as a draft. The more gracefully constructed London text may show Da Ponte's increasing competence in adaptation and translation assignments gained over the

intervening thirteen years. The London aria's text, taken out of context, would read like a standard aria text, while the Vienna aria's text would seem bizarre.

Published Extracts from *Iphigénie en Tauride*

Several music publishers extracted arias and scenes from operas performed in London's theaters and printed them as individual two- to eight-page scores. Consumers could purchase these scores and sing the arias or duets or trios at home or in chamber performances. Publishers often listed in the title of the opera in which the aria had been recently performed, along with the names of the singers by which it had been performed, closely tying the sheet music to the specific live performances. The parts of the opera that were sung by the beguiling soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti seem to have proved most popular. As such, these published extracts "added fuel to the much-valued star cult" surrounding Banti.[141] The publisher Corri, Dussek & Co. published one aria for the character of Iphigénie, "O gran dea," and the publishers R. Birchall and Longman and Broderip both published another, "Donzelle semplici." These excerpts all include a piano accompaniment but are also scored for additional instruments. The score to "O gran Dea" is for string quartet, and those of "Donzelle semplici" add trumpets and horns as well as timpani to the string instruments. The scoring in these excerpts does not always match the original context, as in the case of "O gran Dea," which, at least when it was performed in Vienna, was accompanied by oboes as well as strings.[142] The fact that sheet music was published for arias from *Iphigénie en Tauride*, scored in this manner, demonstrates that music publishers believed that members of the general public in London and beyond were interested in repeating the opera's music not only at home, but also in amateur concerts. Concert life in London reached its peak in 1795, according to

[141] McGuinness, "External and Internal Factors in the Circulation of Music in London around 1700," 36.
[142] Gluck and Guillard, "Ifigenia in Tauride."

Simon McVeigh, who writes that Haydn's departure from England's capital city resulted in a loss of vitality in London's concert scene.[143] However, outside of London, amateur societies still actively performed programs including orchestral and vocal works.[144] London publishers thus aimed their printings of operatic excerpts for voice and chamber orchestra at consumers who lived in London but also in the surrounding environs. Amateur musicians could have played these pieces at home with only the piano accompaniment provided, but music societies, which would have had access to larger numbers of orchestral musicians, might also have taken them on.[145]

Published extracts from operas, which are advertised as replications of original performances but which diverge from both their source texts and one another, show how variations can proliferate from even a single simple aria. The text to very first aria in *Iphigénie en Tauride*, for example, has been recorded in at least five distinct Italian-language versions, all of which have been attributed to Da Ponte at some point in time. The different versions of the aria, in various libretto and score forms, show incremental changes, wrought by both known agents (e.g. singers like Banti) and unknown agents (e.g. anonymous copyists).

[143] Simon McVeigh, "London," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (London: Oxford), accessed November 5, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904pg5.

[144] Stanley Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, no. 85th Session (1959 1958): 17–30.

[145] For in depth descriptions of concert life in major European centers of music-making, including London, see: William Weber, "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Id., "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): pp. 678–91; Id., *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

The Many Iterations of Iphigénie's First Aria

The opera's first aria is sung by the character Iphigénie, and it begins, in French, with the words, "Ô toi, qui prolongeas mes jours." As shown in Table 5[146], Da Ponte's translation of the French into Italian is relatively literal and includes the cognate pairings that are prevalent in other parts of the opera as well. However, the translation also diverges from the French quite significantly, starting with the first few words. The aria, in all of its incarnations, is an apostrophe; Iphigénie is praying, addressing the goddess Diane, who is not onstage during this scene. The French aria begins with a vague but familiar form of address, which translates literally to "O you, who…." The Italian spells out who is being addressed: "O great Goddess." This not only adds specificity to the content but also syllables to the verse. In the French score, "O toi" is set syllabically, meaning that there are only two notes, one for each of the first two words. For Da Ponte's Italian to scan, therefore, another note needs to be added. This can be seen in the Vienna score, shown in Figure 1, where the first quarter-note in the original has been changed to a dotted eighth-note followed by a sixteenth-note to accommodate the two first words, allowing the additional, third word to land on the downbeat, as metrical stress dictates. The extra sixteenth-note also changes the melody of the opening, adding a passing tone of b-natural in the middle of the original descending major third from c-sharp to a.

[146] The words that are in **bold** or are <u>underlined</u> in the French text have corresponding Italian cognates in one or more of the Italian versions of the aria. These words are likewise in bold or underlined in the Italian iterations. I make no distinction between words that are in bold and words that are underlined; I alternate between the two font styles in order to make the pairings between French and Italian cognates easier to see.

Table 5: Iphigénie's First Aria in the Original French, and in Four Different Italian-language Iterations

Original French	**Italian (Vienna Libretto)**	**Italian (Vienna Score)**
Ô toi, qui prolongeas mes jours, **Reprends un** bien **que je déteste**. Diane! **Je t'implore.** **Arrêtes**-en le cours. Rejoins Iphigénie au malheureux **Oreste**! Hélas, tout m'en fait une loi. La mort me **devient** nécessaire. J'ai vu s'élever contre moi, Les Dieux, ma **patrie** et mon père.	**O** gran Dea che serbasti i miei giorni Questo ben, **ch'io detesto** ritogli, Diana il mio voto accogli, **Arresta** il corso lor. A l'infelice **Oreste** Fa ch'io m'unisca ancor Ahimè tutto a morire m'invita Un dover mi **diventa** la morte, Poichè armarsi per perder mia vita Vidi il Padre, la **Patria**, e la sorte	**O** gran Dea che serbasti i miei giorni **Prendi un** ben, **ch'io detesto** Diana **io t'imploro**: **Arresta** il corso lor All'infelice **Oreste** Fa ch'io m'unisca ancor Ahimè tutto à morire m'invita, Un dover mi **diventa** la morte Poi che armarsi per perder mia vita Vidi il Padre, la parmi [sic] e la Sorte
Italian (Text from Printed Extract, London)	**Italian (London Libretto)**	**Italian (Sonzogno Score 1890, Libretto 1937, La Scala Performance 1957)**
O gran Dea che quel dono funesto Lascia pur la sua preda alla morte Ah la vita che aborro detesto Più sopportar non so. Ah possa Ifigenia seguire **Oreste** ancor Ahimé troppo m'è cara la morte Più non curo la luce del giorno Mi tormenta la barbara sorte Ed il Padre m'accresce il dolor	**O** gran Dea che serbasti i miei giorni Questo ben, **ch'io detesto** ritogli, Diana il mio voto accogli, **Arresta** il corso lor. A l'infelice **Oreste** Fa ch'io m'unisca ancor Ahimè tutto a morire m'invita Un dover mi **diventa** la morte, Poichè armarsi per perder mia vita Vidi il Padre, la **Patria**, e la sorte	**O tu**, che in tua pietà crudel, Serbata m'hai terrena veste, Diana, **io t'imploro**, m'apri alfin Il muto e freddo avel! Congiungi Ifigenia **all'infelice Oreste**; **Ahimé** altra non chieggo mercè, Non chieggo a te che la morte! Io sento avversi a me Gli Dei, il mio popolo e mio **padre**.

Table 6: Translations of Table 5

Literal Translation (French)	**Literal Translation (Vienna & London Libretti)**	**Literal Translation (Vienna Score)**
O you, who prolong my days, Take back this good, which I detest Diana, I implore you Stop their way. Reunite Iphigénie with unhappy Oreste Alas! Everything makes me a law. Death becomes a necessissity for me. I saw rising up against me, The gods, my country, and my father	O great goddess who preserved my days This good, that I detest take back, Diana receive my vow Stop their way. Make me able to be reunited with the unhappy Oreste Woe is me, everything invites me to die. Death becomes a necessity for me As they arm themselves to lose my life, I saw my father, my country, and my destiny.	O great goddess who preserved my days This good, that I detest take back, Diana, I implore you Stop their way. Make me able to be reunited with the unhappy Oreste Woe is me, everything invites me to die. Death becomes a necessity for me As they arm themselves to lose my life, I saw my father, my country, and my destiny.
Literal Translation (Extract)	**Printed, Poetic Translation (London Libretto)**	**Literal Translation (Sonzogno Score 1890)**
O great goddess, who that funereal gift Leaves your prey to death Ah the life that I abhor I detest I cannot stand anymore Ah could Iphigénie follow Oreste again Woe is me death is too dear to me I don't care anymore for the light of day Cruel fate torments me and my father increases my pain.	Great goddess, my sure defender still, Kind Diana, protect me in each adverse ill; Cease the vigour of their fatal blow, Between the perils that around me flow. Return me Orestes, ye powers divine, Grant me this – and life to you I'll resign. Alas, by sorrows opprest, Naught but death surrounds me; Peace no more reigns in my breast, It is heaven, stern decree	O you, who in your cruel pity, Preserved my earthly vestments Diana, I implore you, open at last The mute and cold tomb Reunited Iphigénie with the unhappy Oreste Woe is me, otherwise I don't ask for mercy I don't ask anything of you but death I feel that the gods, my people, and my father are against me.

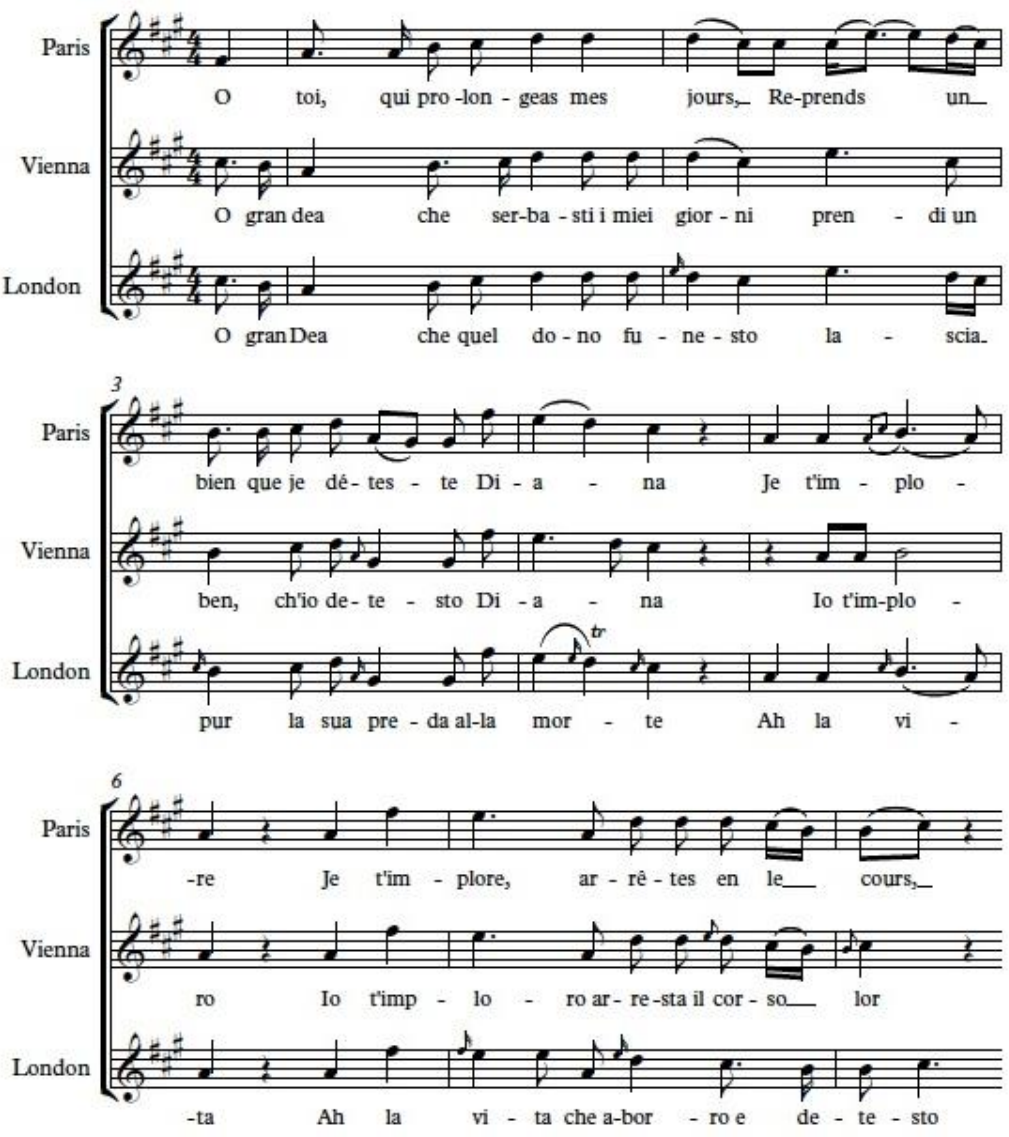


Figure 1: Iphigénie's First Aria, in Three Iterations

In comparing the text in the Vienna libretto and that in the Vienna score side by side, one can see that there are minor differences. The version in the score is closer to the French, with two more cognate pairs: "reprends"/"prendi" and "t'implore"/ "t'imploro." In addition, "Je t'implore" in the French has the same syllable count and scansion as "Io t'imploro," the version in the score. However, the version in the libretto, "il mio voto accogli," has many more syllables, which would have changed the mapping of words onto

notes. For this particular aria, an important monologue which, coming early in the opera, helps to define the character of Iphigénie, Da Ponte may have purposefully composed verses that would read well even if they did not scan as well with the music. It is impossible to know which version came first with the evidence currently available, but either scenario can be explained: Da Ponte could have composed the poem, realized it didn't scan with the music, and modified it for the score, or he could have written the text to fit the music and then decided to make it read more like a poem for the printed libretto. His warning to Viennese audiences certainly implied that he was worried about the poetry's appearance and viability as an aesthetic object in its own right, without the musical accompaniment.

In the Larpent libretto, as in the printed London libretto, the text to "O gran Dea" is identical to that in the printed Viennese libretto. However, in Corri, Dussek, & Co.'s printing of "O gran Dea" as a stand-alone aria, the text is quite different. This extract was also most likely printed in 1796, which confirms that the change in text did not take place through a loss of accuracy that can easily occur over time. Here, it is helpful to compare the content of the two versions, as well as their rhyme schemes. (See Table 5.)

The two poems have the same main idea – Iphigénie wants to die in order to escape her troubles and to be reunited with her brother Oreste (who, at this point in the opera, she presumes is dead). However, all of the words except for "O gran Dea," "ancor," "Ahimè," "morte," and "il Padre," are different. The meaning remains similar, even as the vocabulary changes. However, the change in vocabulary in turn causes an alteration in the text-music relationship. The second full measure of the aria extends the range up to an E, the highest and longest note that has been sung thus far in the aria. In the French and the Italian sung in the Vienna production (and most likely the London production at the King's Theatre), this emphasized pitch corresponds to a command, "take." The

Italian printed in the extract score instead has another command that contradicts the original, "leave." Likewise, another high point in the piece is the descending F-sharp, E, D, and C-sharp from measure 3 to measure 4. In the Parisian French and the Viennese Italian, this musical phrase corresponds with the word "Diane," or the goddess to whom Iphigénie directs her plea. In the London extract, there is the word "death."[147]

The original French poem had a combination of octasyllabic lines and Alexandrines. The two Italian versions from London both have a mixture of decasillabi verses (common for opera libretti but uncommon in other genres of poetry) and settenari. What is surprising is that the two texts do not follow the same pattern. For example, the third line in the printed libretto has seven syllables, but the third line in the Corri, Dussek & Co. score extract has ten. The two texts therefore fit the music differently, as can be seen in the two scores in Table 5. The French original had a simple alternating rhyme scheme. The Italian versions are both more complicated: there are rhymes, but the structures of the verses are not built around a particular rhyme scheme as the French verses are.

There is one final version of this aria, which jumps ahead a number of decades, but remains relevant to this study through its attribution to Da Ponte. This version can be found in a score published in 1890 by Milan publisher Edoardo Sonzogno Editore, and in a libretto published in 1937 by the same publisher (renamed, by that point, Casa Musicale Sonzogno), also in Milan. This libretto attributes the "riduzione dal testo italiano originale," or the "reduction of the original Italian text" to Lothar Wallerstein. However, the author and origins of the so-called "original text" are not cited. In 1957,

[147] The English translation that accompanies the printed libretto somewhat disguises the full suicidal import of Iphigénie's aria. In the English poem, which is neatly formed of rhyming couplets, Iphigénie asks the goddess to protect her, not to kill her. Iphigénie says she is surrounded by death, but the only possible reference to her own death is oblique. Iphigénie promises Diane that she will give the goddess her life as long as Oreste is restored to her. In this formation, Iphigénie could just as easily be promising that if Oreste were to come back (to life), she would devote herself entirely to her life as a priestess at the temple of Diane.

Maria Callas sang this text in her performance as Iphigénie at La Scala.[148] One of her performances was recorded live and later released as a CD. The CD booklet for the live recording of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, conducted by Nino Sanzogno and sung by Maria Callas on June 1, 1957, claims that the Italian translation is by Lorenzo Da Ponte: "His translation was used for the work's London premiere and, with revisions, served as the basis for La Scala's 1957 production."[149] The metadata for library catalogues of this item also cite Da Ponte as an author. However, the Italian translation sung on this recording is clearly and remarkably different from both the Vienna and London versions of Da Ponte's libretto. A 1999 review of the recording in *Opera Quarterly* admits to a confusion of sources but does not shed much light on its origin. The author deprives Wallerstein's more recent but less famous name of credit as he once again attributes the Italian translation to Da Ponte: "The opera is sung, of course, not in the original French but in an Italian translation – a translation originally made by Lorenzo Da Ponte, but subsequently adjusted by unknown hands."[150]

This version shares a few similarities with Da Ponte's Vienna version, and it is possible that Wallerstein consulted it while setting his new text to music. In the same opening aria for Iphigénie, some of the vocabulary in Wallerstein's version is identical to the earlier iterations, but then again these similarities mostly stem from their common

---

[148] Classics scholar Edith Hall hypothesizes that "the recording of Maria Callas' legendary Italian-language performance of Gluck's opera…is still a bestseller, partly because her eloquent rendition of Iphigenia's great lament in Act II…has come to symbolize this unparalleled diva's lonely and traumatic personal life." We see then in Callas a counterpart to Banti. The soprano, a charismatic celebrity, is compared to her character, the real personality collapsed into the fictional. Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris*, 184.

[149] Maria Callas and Nino Sanzogno, *Ifigenia in Tauride*, CD (Milan: Opera d'oro, 1957), 9. Liner note by Thomas May. Later in the booklet, just before the libretto is printed in Italian and English, there is a more lengthy "note on the translation": "This libretto was originally written in French, and outside of Italy the opera is today almost always given in French as *Iphiénie en Tauride*. This historic performance given in Italy with the late Maria Callas used an Italian translation by Lorenzo de [sic] Ponte which was extensively revised for this specific occasion." The note goes onto say that the English translation given is not a translation of the Italian, but rather a translation of the French that is more literal than the Italian translation that is sung on the recording. Ibid., 13.

[150] Roland Graeme, "Ifigenia in Tauride (Review)," *The Opera Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1999): 334–36.

roots in the original French. In other ways the new text diverges from the other versions. The first ("o tu") and last ("gli Dei, il mio popolo e mio padre") words of the aria are direct translations of the original French and do not correspond to any of the other Italian versions. This version has more of a focus on pity and mercy than do the others, as well as an evocative description of a cold, silent, grave waiting to be reopened to receive Iphigénie.

A comparison of the different Italian-language versions of Iphigénie's first aria demonstrates that the same music can easily accommodate multiple variations of the same text. Comparing these versions with the aria text from 1890 additionally shows that different translators inevitably make different choices. No changes were made to the text of this aria in between its performances in Vienna in 1783 and in London in 1796. However, the text changed a good deal in London itself in the short period of time it took between its publication in libretto form and its distribution as an aria for amateurs to sing at home. There is no obvious dramaturgical reason for this change, and it may simply signal that precise replication was valued less at the time than it is today. This shows that although circulation and modification are correlated, change is not necessarily caused by traversal of distance or time.

Donzelle semplici: Anything but Simple

The other aria for the character of Iphigénie that was printed as an extract in London is "Donzelle semplici." This is a strange case as well, although this time there are no text variations to analyze. "Donzelle semplici" is an added aria whose text does not appear anywhere in either the London or the Vienna libretti. In fact, the text to the aria is not a translation of any part of Guillard's *Iphigénie en Tauride* libretto. Rather, it is an aria from another Gluck opera, *Paride ed Elena*, with an original Italian libretto by Ranieri

Table 7: "Donzelle semplici"

Italian Text	Literal English Translation
Donzelle semplici, no, non credete A quelle lagrime che voi vedrete Su gli occhi spargersi del traditor: Più che son flebili i suoi sospiri; Più par che s'agiti, e che deliri, Meno quel perfido commosso ha il cor. Ah! Per defendervi contro quell'Empio. Donzelle semplici, vi sian d'esempio E le mie smanie, e il mio rossor.	Pure maidens, no, don't believe Those tears that you see sprinkling from the eyes of the traitor; The more feeble your sighs, the more agitated you appear and the more you rave The less that traitor's heart is moved. Ah! To defend yourselves against that villain simple girls, may these serve as an example: my madness and my blushing

de' Calzabigi. *Paride ed Elena* premiered in Vienna in 1770 but was not performed as often as Gluck's other works throughout the next decades, nor did it circulate far beyond the location of its premiere as frequently as did his other works. By 1796 the opera had not yet been performed in London. When Banti sang "Donzelle semplici" from *Paride ed Elena* onstage at the King's Theatre in the course of a performance of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the aria became linked to the latter opera. Its association with *Iphigénie en Tauride* was cemented so firmly that even as late as 1818 when the aria was listed as part of a program for a "Concert of Antient Music" series, it was labeled as originally having been part of "*Iphigenia*," with no mention of *Paride ed Elena*, its original source.[151]

The text to "Donzelle semplici," as set in the published extracts from *Iphigénie en Tauride*, is identical to the text in the libretto to *Paride ed Elena*. This is par for the course for a suitcase aria. However, it is surprising that no one modified the text in this case, since its content is at odds with *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s plot.

As mentioned above, Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* did not contain a love plot, or even the opportunity for one to arise. No changes made to the London libretto at any point signal the introduction of any love story, with the exception of the insertion of this

[151] *Concerts of Ancient Music, Under the Patronage of Their Majesties, and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as Performed at the New Rooms, Hanover Square* (London: Joseph Mallett, 1818), 68, 77–78.

one aria. Iphigénie and all of the other women in the opera are priestesses for Diane, goddess of chastity, and the male characters in the opera are Iphigénie's brother Oreste, and his friend Pylade, both off-limit prisoners sentenced to be sacrificed, and Thoas, who is the villain. Where then in the dark plot of human sacrifice, guilt, and penance is there room for Iphigénie to warn young maidens of the wiles of men trying to seduce them? Nowhere; yet this is the content of "Donzelle semplici."

Since the text is not printed in the context of a full libretto of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, it is difficult to tell where in the opera the aria was inserted. Although at least one London review mentions that Banti sang two encores in the opera, most likely "O gran dea" and "Donzelle semplici," the reviews for *Iphigénie en Tauride* are unusually short and do not mention details such as where these arias appeared in the opera.[152] What is clear, however, is that "Donzelle semplici," which allowed Banti to "display… her sweet notes and charming execution" would have been incongruous wherever it was placed.[153]

While it is clear that the aria was chosen to highlight Banti, it is not obvious why this particular aria was selected, especially since *Paride ed Elena* had not yet reached London. There were many connections between Vienna and London in the late eighteenth century, and "Donzelle semplici" could have traveled to London in several different ways. Several people active in the London musical scene in the 1790s had been in Vienna during the 1780s (Da Ponte, as previously mentioned, was in Vienna between 1781 and 1791, and Michael Kelly, a tenor and director famous in London circles, was in Vienna from 1783 to 1787.[154] Brigida Banti, London's Iphigénie, sang in Vienna in 1780

---

[152] See: "The Opera." *True Briton*. April 11, 1796, "Banti." *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. April 8, 1796, "The Opera." *True Briton*. May 9, 1796, "Banti's Benefit." *Morning Post and Fashionable World*. April 8, 1796.

[153] "Ancient Music," *True Briton*, February 9, 1797.

[154] There is some disagreement in the scholarly community as to whether Michael Kelly sang the role of Pilade in the Italian-language or the German-language version of *Iphigénie en Tauride* in Vienna. Edith Hall says it was the German version (Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris*, 185.). Although Kelly's own memoirs mention his performance in the role, they do not mention the language in which he performed.

and then again very briefly in June of 1787.)[155] *Paride ed Elena* had premiered in Vienna in 1770, but it met with a lukewarm reception and was not revived at all during these years.[156] However, it is possible that arias like "Donzelle semplici" were performed informally around Vienna during this period and one of the abovementioned important players in the London theater scene picked it up then.

Another possibility could be that Charles Burney imported the aria. Burney was another major figure in London's musical scene who had substantial connections to Vienna. Burney had visited Vienna and saw *Paride ed Elena* there in 1772. In the fourth volume of his *History of Music*, he insisted that *Paride ed Elena* "afforded the audience such pleasure…to have impressed the lovers of Music in the imperial capital with a partiality for that species of dramatic Music, which was not likely to be soon removed."[157] When Burney met Gluck in person in 1772, Gluck entertained Burney by playing him extracts from *Paride ed Elena*.[158] Perhaps one of the selections was "Donzelle semplici." However, there is no proof that Charles Burney brought the aria back to London, where it became popular in *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1796. Indeed, it seems that Burney forgot all about the aria for over two decades.

Burney was reintroduced to the aria in 1808 through Lady Louisa Clarges's personal book of copied music. Lady Clarges, an amateur musician, was the wife of the Baronet

---

[155] Carr, "Banti, Brigida Giorgi."

[156] Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly: Of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century*, ed. Theodore Edward Hook, v. 1 (London: H. Colburn, 1826); Alec Hyatt King, "Kelly, Michael," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed May 3, 2014, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/14856; Tim Carter and Dorothea Link, "Da Ponte, Lorenzo," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 5, 2014, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/07207; Carr, "Banti, Brigida Giorgi"; Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*.

[157] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 579.

[158] Burney, *The Present State Of Music In Germany, The Netherlands, And United Provinces. Or The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for A General History Of Music: In Two Volumes*, 260.

Thomas Clarges, who lent Charles Burney his wife's music book while she was sick in bed. Charles Burney, who at the time was bedridden and recovering from an illness himself, copied at least portions of this book, including "Donzelle semplici," into his own musical manuscript book at that time.[159] Although some pieces in this handwritten collection contain identifying information, such as the composer's name, the date the piece was written, or the name of the full work from which the piece is from, the page where "Donzelle semplici" begins is simply titled: "Fragments from Lady Clarges's Vol. of MS. Songs collected at Naples 1790."[160] Although this document, and a letter Burney wrote to singer Louisa Margarett Harris in 1808 describing Lady Clarges' book, does not account for how "Donzelle semplici" arrived in London in 1796, it does demonstrate another mode of circulation open to music at the time. According to Burney, music was a "manufacture of Italy," a commodity that could be traded just like any other.[161] However, he also admitted that, "music, like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates and according to the encouragement it receives."[162]

Music aficionados like Charles Burney and Lady Clarges, neither of whom were performing musicians, shared music among themselves, borrowing music manuscripts and copying them for their own use. In another letter to Harris, Burney realized to his chagrin that he had previously mis-cited the opera that a particular aria was from. He had needed his daughter Susan to remind him of its proper origin.[163] This proves that not

---

[159] "Donzelle semplici" seems not to have struck his fancy much, or even remind of him Paride ed Elena. Neither did it remind him of Banti, it seems, since he took the time to copy down the music, which had been made available to the public in several versions in print after Banti's turn as Ifigenia.

[160] Charles Burney, "A Collection of Songs, Numbers from Operas, and Part of a Transcript of the 'Regole Del Contrappunto Pratico Di Nicola Sala'" (Musical Score, c 1794), British Library.

[161] Quoted in Rosselli, "Music and Nationalism in Italy," 182.

[162] Quoted in McGuinness, "External and Internal Factors in the Circulation of Music in London around 1700," 38.

[163] Charles Burney, "Charles Burney to Louisa Margaret Harris," Letter, (November 20, 1808), Add MS 48345, British Library.

only did music copy books spread music far and wide, but they also separated individual pieces from their original contexts. Here then is another sense in which the practices of music copy books resonate with the pastiche aesthetic of the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I introduced Christoph Willibald Gluck, prolific composer and continual foreigner, as a code switcher, someone who relied on his knowledge of the languages and musics of cosmopolitan Europe to create unique, hybrid forms, which were ultimately understandable in Paris, Vienna, and London. Although Gluck exercised considerable skill in crafting *Iphigénie en Tauride*, the opera's reception relied on more than the conditions of its creation.

The case of *Iphigénie en Tauride* shows the outsized importance of circulation practices in the history of opera in late eighteenth-century Europe. Still more, it shows the diverse modes of circulation at play. People moved from city to city in complex, sometimes overlapping routes. Sometimes they carried with them musical objects, and sometimes just their memories of recent performances. There were diverse motives for sharing music and text from operas, and some required that the work be reshaped to fit new circumstances.

Audiences in Paris, Vienna, and London made the opera their own through active engagement with the work. In Paris, audiences, for better or for worse, saw the character of Iphigénie as a stand-in for Marie-Antoinette. In Vienna, audiences were introduced to the opera and its characters in two different languages. Alxinger, and then Da Ponte, each needed to navigate the thorny task of the opera translator. Da Ponte strove to stay true enough to the original to make the opera recognizable to those who had seen it in Paris, while modifying it enough to show his craftsmanship with the Italian language. In

London, at the King's Theatre, the singers ran the show, and the needs of the cast determined the changes made to ensure the opera's popularity.

CHAPTER 2:
Faded Memories: Authorship and Attribution in *Zémire et Azor* and *La belle Arsène*

Da Ponte's Heroic Account of Translation

Lorenzo Da Ponte's *Memorie* contains a somewhat operatic portrayal of the events surrounding his translation of *Zémire et Azor*. According to Da Ponte, the translation was a heroic mission to salvage the opera for performance at the King's Theatre after the poets who were originally asked to translate the opera, Serafino Bonaiuti[164] and Baldinotti,[165] embarrassingly failed at the task. The anecdote gives Da Ponte the opportunity to simultaneously outline his theories of translation for music and to criticize his rivals. He writes:

> …to translate an opera from one language into another something more than knowledge of versification is essential. The lines must be written in such a way that the accents of the poetry correspond to those of the music. Few the people who can do that well. A musical ear and long experience are unusually necessary. Both these things were lacking in those men [Bonaiuti and Baldinotti]; and after three weeks' time they sent the score to the director on him asking for it, with this humiliating confession: 'We can not do it.'[166]

This is the clearest record of Da Ponte's personal views of what it means to translate a text that is specifically meant to be sung. However, the second part of the quotation reveals Da Ponte's deep-seated desire to lay sole claim to work that I will prove below was a collaborative endeavor in which he was barely involved.

---

[164] Serafino Bonaiuti (also spelled Buonaiuti) took over the role of King's Theatre librettist for Da Ponte when Da Ponte was fired from the theater in 1799. Da Ponte began writing for the theater again in 1801. See Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*, 263.

[165] Baldinotti is a name that appears three times in Da Ponte's *Memorie*, all in relation to *Zémire et Azor*. It is possible that it is a nickname for a poet or a misspelling of a poet's name, because I have thus far found no mention of a Baldinotti in any other document from the period.

[166] Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, New York Review Books Classics (New York: New York Review Books, 2000), 244.

Da Ponte's false assertion that he translated *Zémire et Azor* is not the only confusing element to this anecdote. The account above, from the 1823 edition of the *Memorie*, is clearly written about *Zémire et Azor*'s performance in London in 1796. Da Ponte includes the heroine's name, Zemire, six times in his account and also affirms that the music to this opera is by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Zémire et Azor's* composer. Da Ponte tells the same anecdote in the short publication *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, published in 1819 in New York. The opera title he cites in *An Extract* is *La belle Arsène*, which premiered in London in 1795 with music by Pierre Alexandre Monsigny. The change of opera from the 1819 *Extract* to the 1823 full version of *Memorie* could be attributed to several factors, including the unreliability of Da Ponte's memory this late in his life.[167] At any rate, the historical record cannot possibly match both stories.

Collaborative creation complicates questions of authorship and ownership. In the eighteenth century, the idea of authorship was fraught with tensions born of the clash between emerging ideas of intellectual property and the tradition of the pastiche aesthetic. In this chapter, I examine *Zémire et Azor* and *La belle Arsène*, as presented at the King's Theatre, as cases in which collective authorship existed in a confused atmosphere of work that was simultaneously shared and contested. Throughout this chapter I also construct a hierarchy of tasks open to an opera poet such as Da Ponte at this time, from the most coveted original commissions to the more utilitarian work of literal translation. This hierarchy is based on Da Ponte's own ideas of the value of each kind of task, but can be applied more broadly.

[167] Da Ponte was 74 years old when his *Memorie* were published. The average life expectancy in both Europe and America around that time was about 40 years. (See: Richard L. Zijdema and Filipa Ribeiro de Silva, "Life Expectancy since 1820," in *How Was Life?: Global Well-Being Since 1820*, ed. J.L. van Zanden (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014).)

Paralell Cases

Zémire et Azor and *La belle Arsène* share several features that may have conflated them not only in the mind of Da Ponte, but also in the minds of his contemporaries. [168] André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry composed the music to *Zémire et Azor*, while Pierre Alexandre Monsigny wrote *La belle Arsène*. However, "An Extract," which cites *La belle Arsène* as the opera in question also asserts that the music is by Grétry. This same error appears on the title page of the 1795 London libretto to *La belle Arsène*, which announced that the music had been "taken from the original of Mr. Gretry."[169] The London audience for these two operas, and perhaps even the cast and staff of the King's Theatre, might have at one point thought that the two operas contained music by the same composer.

In addition when *Zémire et Azor* was presented in 1796 at the King's Theatre,[170] its performance took place just six months after the London performances of *La belle Arsène*.[171] *La belle Arsène* also premiered in Paris in 1773, just two years after the Paris premiere of *Zémire et Azor*. Brigida Giorgi Banti, the same soprano who sang the title role of *Iphigénie in Tauride* in London, also starred in *La belle Arsène* and *Zémire et Azor* during their runs in London in the 1790s. This is not surprising, since she was the prima donna at the King's Theatre in London beginning in 1793. However, Banti's characters, Zémire and Arsène, share similarities. Both women are fiercely independent. Zémire disobeys her father, and Arsène's is not present. Zémire's suitor is, literally, a

---

[168] Sheila Hodges notes in a footnote that the story is more likely about *La belle Arsène*, based on the record of earlier performances of *Zémire et Azor* in London, a fact that we will discuss at length in this chapter. However, she does not provide definitive evidence of the likelihood that the events reported by Da Ponte transpired around *La belle Arsene*'s London premiere. Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist*, 245.

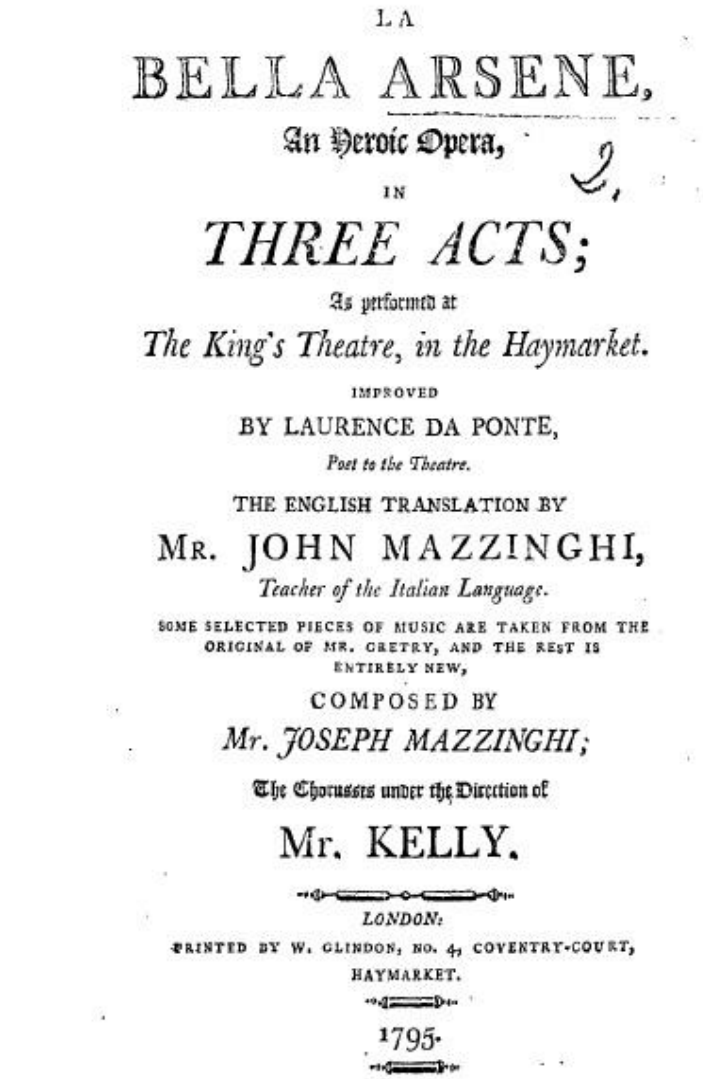
[169] Favart and Monsigny, *La Bella Arsene, an Heroic Opera, in Three Acts; as Performed at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket*.

[170] This performance was not its London premiere, as I will prove later in this chapter.

[171] *La belle Arsène* made its London premiere in Italian on December 12, 1795.

beast, and Arsène thinks that all men are monsters. Both women refuse initial proposals of marriage, and they only relent once they fall in love.

In addition, *Zémire et Azor* and *La belle Arsène* are both based on fairytales and have



LA

BELLA ARSENE,

An Heroic Opera,

IN

THREE ACTS;

As performed at

The King's Theatre, in the Haymarket.

IMPROVED

BY LAURENCE DA PONTE,

Poet to the Theatre.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

MR. JOHN MAZZINGHI,

Teacher of the Italian Language.

SOME SELECTED PIECES OF MUSIC ARE TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MR. GRETRY, AND THE REST IS ENTIRELY NEW,

COMPOSED BY

Mr. JOSEPH MAZZINGHI;

The Chorusses under the Direction of

Mr. KELLY.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. GLINDON, NO. 4, COVENTRY-COURT, HAYMARKET.

1795.

Figure 2: The Title Page to *La belle Arsène*

fantastical, magical elements. Zémire has a magic mirror; Arsène is transported to a magical paradise that contains no men. David J. Buch has traced the development of operas with supernatural elements in his thorough study *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests*.[172] In musical performances during the Enlightenment, there was a marked increase in the use of magical themes.[173] Magic served as a tool to comment within the confines of theater on the rigid class hierarchy operating outside the bounds of the stage; it dissipated these class distinctions, often distributing power to members of lower classes or disadvantaged or foreign groups.[174]

Zémire et Azor and *La belle Arsène* were both classified as comic operas in Paris, which meant that they shared many stylistic features, most prominently the fact that dialogue was spoken between musical numbers.[175] Buch reminds us of the "broad meaning of the word *comédie*" in Paris in the late eighteenth century, explaining that comédie was not always funny. Instead, this term also had to do with the breaking of rules. Comédies dealt with the lives of lower class people and often did not follow the conventions of classical drama.[176]

La belle Arsène contains characters of different classes, from the chivalric knight Alcindor to the Coalman who lives in a hut in the woods. Zémire's father is a merchant who is down on his luck, and Ali is his servant.[177] Azor is a prince, but for most of the opera he appears to be subhuman, in the form of a beast.

---

[172] David J. Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theater* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 134–138.

[173] Ibid., 137–138.

[174] Ibid., 104–105.

[175] Elizabeth C. Bartlet and Richard Langham Smith, "Opéra Comique," *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

[176] Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theater*, 103.

[177] Ali is a lower-class man whose cowardly tremblings are depicted musically; as such, this character falls under the character archetype of a *basso buffo*.

The style of music in the two operas was similar as well, borne from the close association of the two composers, Monsigny for *La belle* Arsène, and Grètry for *Zémire et Azor*. In fact, the relationship between the two prolific composers, with Monsigny serving as a mentor of sorts for the younger Grétry, contributed to the stability of musical and generic conventions in opéra-comique in Paris during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny was born in 1729 in Fauqembergues in Northern France, about 60 kilometers from the Belgian border. He came from a noble family, but his family was poor, and when he moved to Paris in 1749, he planned to start a career in finance.[178] While he pursued those goals, he simultaneously studied music and began to compose "opéras comiques mêlé d'ariettes."[179] In 1759, his first opera was performed in Paris. However, he did not feel ready to claim his work as his own until 1762.[180]

By the time Grétry arrived in Paris in 1767, Monsigny's work was well-known in and out of France. In fact, Grétry writes in his *Memoires* that when singers at the Théâtre Italien asked him if he knew what he was up against trying to start out a career as an opera composer in Paris, Grétry answered by singing a melody from Monsigny's 1761 opera *On ne s'avise jamais de tout*.[181] Grétry had great admiration for Monsigny,

---

[178] Michel Noiray, "Monsigny, Pierre-Alexandre," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 23, 2014, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/18990.

[179] "In spite of inconsistencies in terminology among some theorists, critics and authors during the 1750s and 60s, the phrase *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* soon became the generally accepted designation during the *ancien régime* for the majority of what are now called *opéras comiques*." Bartlet and Smith, "Opéra Comique."

[180] Robert DeRoy Jobe, "The Operas of André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry" (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1965), 52.

[181] Daniel Heartz, "The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance: Rousseau, Sedaine, and Monsigny," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 2 (1981): 170, doi:10.2307/2738240.

especially his talent for writing singable arias, and described him as "the most singable musician," and "the musician who sings instinctively."[182]

At a certain point, Monsigny became acquainted with Grétry and came to admire him as well. In the early 1780s, the librettist and playwright Michel-Jean Sedaine offered a libretto to Monsigny to set to music. This opera was *Richard Cœur de Lion*, which did in fact go on to become a success on the operatic stage, but with music by Grétry. Monsigny decided to pass the libretto on to his younger colleague, saying that he believed that Grétry would do a better job with the work.[183] As Grétry's popularity rose in Paris, Monsigny seemed content to step back from the spotlight. In fact, some music historians believe that Monsigny purposely passed the torch to Grétry, not wanting to see his own works compared to those of the younger composer.[184]

Separate Identities: *Zémire et Azor* and *La belle Arsène*

Despite the striking similarities of content, style, and even chronology shared between *Zémire et Azor* and *La belle Arsène*, the operas individually also have quite different stories to tell. The most important distinction for the purpose of this dissertation is perhaps the fact that Da Ponte translated *La belle Arsène* himself, but only slightly modified a preexisting translation of *Zémire et Azor*.

Zémire et Azor

Source Material

The source material for *Zémire et Azor* was a fairytale that first appeared as *La belle et la Bête*, Dialogue V in the collection *Magasin pour les Enfans*, by Madame J. M.

[182] Jobe, "The Operas of André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry," 52–53. "Le musician le plus chantant," and "le musician qui chante d'instinct."

[183] Ibid., 23.

[184] Ibid., 52.

Leprince de Beaumont.[185] This volume was first published, by a London press but in the French language, in 1756.[186] In de Beaumont's tale, which appeared surrounded by moralistic dialogues meant for the improvement of young minds, the Beast is not only ugly, but also dull and devoid of intellect. When he is transformed back into himself, a handsome prince, his wit returns as well. Music features in the story, as the belle, the beautiful and kind Zémire character, simply called "la Belle" or "the Beauty" plays the harpsichord and sings.[187] When she arrives at the Beast's castle, her room is equipped not only with beautiful clothing and decorations, but also with a harpsichord and music books.[188] When she goes to dine, she is treated to a concert performed by invisible musicians.[189] The Beauty's musical talent contributes to her characterization as an all-around accomplished and marriageable young lady in contrast to her crass and materialistic sisters. The Beast's gesture of providing music for the Beauty shows his underlying taste, which he is meant to keep hidden while under the fairy's spell of ugliness.

Although de Beaumont's book is the most apparent source for Marmontel's libretto, David Charlton has pointed out two other major sources that are more generically similar to the opera than Beaumont's fairytale: Favart and Duni's 1765 opéra-comique *La fée Urgèle*, and Nivelle de la Chaussée's 1742 play with music *Amour pour amour*.[190] *La fée Urgèle* was quite popular in Paris from its premiere and was staged until 1783. It

---

[185] David Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 102.

[186] Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, *Magasin des enfans, ou dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et plusieurs de ses eleves de la premiére distinction*, vol. 1 (London: J. Haberkorn, 1756), http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&docLevel=FASCIMILE&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=upenn_main&tabID=T001&docId=CW3305746886&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0.

[187] Ibid., 1:76.

[188] Ibid., 1:87.

[189] Ibid., 1:89.

[190] Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*, 100–102.

contains a parallel story arc to Marmontel and Grétry's opera: an ugly person is transformed into a handsome person due to his virtuous character, and its four-act structure containing dances, choruses, and scene changes, is similar as well.[191] From *Amour pour amour*, Marmontel took the names of the title characters as well as the Middle Eastern setting. Marmontel's original tweaks included alternating between "domestic and enchanted" settings and the addition of a comic servant character named Ali.[192]

The fact that there is more than one possible source for *Zémire et Azor* speaks again to the question of authorship. As Germanist and fairytale expert Jack Zipes writes:

> Any definition of this genre [the literary fairytale for children] must begin with the premise that the individual tale was indeed a *symbolic act* intended to transform a specific oral folk tale (and sometimes a well-known literary tale) and designed to rearrange the motifs, characters, themes, functions and configurations in such a way that they would address the concerns of the educated and ruling classes of late feudal and early capitalist societies.[193]

The person we would now call an author, for example de Beaumont in the case of *La Belle et la Bête*, Favart in the case of *La fée Urgèle*, or Chausée in the case of *Amour pour* Amour, is therefore more of an arranger, taking stories that already exist as components of collective cultural knowledge and adapting them for particular audiences. Neither de Beaumont nor Favart nor Chaussée have claim to original or sole authorship of the story of Beauty and the Beast, but in transforming the tale from an oral story to a written moral tale, or drama, or opera, they adapt or translate a preexisting piece with alterations to fit new audiences or circumstances.

---

[191] Ibid., 102.

[192] Ibid.

[193] J.D. Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 6.

Zémire et Azor's Plot

Sander, a merchant, and his servant Ali duck into the nearest shelter they can find in the midst of a frightening storm, and they find themselves in a richly decorated palace. Ali is scared of the obvious enchantments surrounding him and urges Sander to leave, saying that the storm is over. It is not, however, and Sander determines to stay. Ali is cheered when a table appears, laden with food and drink. Ali enjoys the wine a bit too much, and although Sander now wants to leave, Ali is sleepily content staying. Sander sees a rose and plucks it to bring back to his daughter, Zémire. At this point the monstrous Azor appears and asks what the two are doing in his home. Sander explains who they are and that all Zémire asked of him when he set out on his voyage away from home was to bring back a rose. Azor tells him that as punishment for stealing the rose, Sander must either bring back one of his daughters for Azor or come back himself and be Azor's prisoner. Sander and Ali are transported back home on a magical cloud as the first act ends.

Sander's daughters welcome him home, and are surprised to find him dejected. Zémire admires her rose, but her sisters are disappointed that their father has not brought back riches. Sander will not tell Zémire what is the matter, so Zémire confronts Ali. Zémire determines to go to Azor herself, in order to save her father.

The third act opens on Azor alone, bemoaning his wretched life as a beast. Ali reluctantly escorts Zémire to Azor and then is forced to leave her alone. Zémire is entertained by the enchantments in the castle, but is surprised when she finally meets Azor and is scared that he will eat her. Azor explains he will not, and that she is mistress of his heart and his castle. Azor asks Zémire to sing for him, but her song, about a family of birds, sounds like a dirge to Azor. He asks how he can cheer her up, and she asks to see her sisters and her father. Azor obliges, through the use of a magic picture. Zémire

can see and hear her family, but they cannot see or hear her. This is not enough for Zémire, who is troubled by her family's distress, and she begs permission to see her family in person. Azor gives in, but tells Zémire that he will die if she does not return.

Zémire returns home and tries to explain to her father that she must go back, and that Azor is treating her well. Her father does not understand, but she leaves anyway. She arrives back at Azor's castle just as he is dying of despair. She tells Azor that she loves him, and the castle and Azor transform back to their former splendor. Azor explains that a fairy had cast a spell, and that Zémire has broken it with her profession of love. Sander is brought back to the castle by the fairy, and everyone celebrates the marriage of Zémire et Azor.

The Paris Reception of *Zémire et Azor*

Zémire et Azor premiered at Fontainebleau, a royal retreat just outside of Paris, on November 9, 1771.[194] [1] A sixteen-year-old Marie Antoinette and her husband, the future King Louis XVI, were in attendance. Marie-Antoinette reportedly praised Grétry for his music, saying that the magic picture scene had even entered her dreams.[195] Marmontel, who was also present for the conversation between Grétry and Marie-Antoinette, felt that his contribution to the opera had been snubbed, as Marie-Antoinette only spoke of the opera's music, and not its text.[196] *Zémire et Azor* was performed for the general public in Paris about a month later, on December 16, 1771, at the Comédie-Italienne.[197] The opera was one of Grétry's most popular, and it was performed 271 times in Paris during its first

[194] Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*, 96.

[195] Ronald Lessens, *André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, Ou, Le Triomphe de L'opéra-Comique: 1741-1813*, Univers Musical (Paris: Harmattan, 2007), 108. For a thorough analysis of the magic picture scene and an explanation of how the special effects were achieved onstage, see Deirdre Loughridge, *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism / Deirdre Loughridge* (Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 37–43.

[196] Lessens, *André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, Ou, Le Triomphe de L'opéra-Comique*, 108.

[197] Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*, 98.

thirty years of existence.[198] The scene that graced Marie-Antoinette's dreams, the magic picture scene, was also popular among members of the general public. The bond between father and daughter is quite strong in Marmontel and Grétry's opera. Downing Thomas asserts that *Zémire et Azor* is a "paradigmatic instance of the focus of opéra-comique on sympathy and identification." The magic picture scene, in which Zémire watches from a geographic distance as her family mourns her loss, draws the audience in as complicit in the emotional exchange.[199] The audience identifies with and sympathizes with Zémire.[200]

Marmontel knew that the opera's success was predicated on the audience's empathizing with the title characters. As such, he was concerned that if Azor appeared to be too beast-like the audience might be scared away and unable to sympathize with him or with Zémire, who comes to love him. When Marmontel was shown the costume meant for Azor before the opera's Fontainebleau premiere, he insisted that it be changed to "a dress for a man, not for a monkey," even going so far as to re-fashion Azor's mask himself.[201] This anecdote places Marmontel in the role of absolute author, in control of every facet of his opera down to the last detail – its successes would be his successes, and its failures would be his failures.

Marmontel's text, of course, was not the only element in the opera's reception. Grétry's orchestrations for *Zémire et Azor* were praised at the time and continue to be lauded today. [202] Grétry ramped up the drama by adding several offstage instruments in

---

[198] Ibid., 108.

[199] Downing A. Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647-1785*, Cambridge Studies in Opera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 249.

[200] Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*, 104. In fact, the opera's proto-romantic sensibilities may have contributed to its longevity throughout the late eighteenth-century and into the nineteenth century.

[201] Jean-François Marmontel, *Memoirs of Marmontel, Written by Himself, Including Anecdotes of the Most Distinguished Literary and Political Characters Who Appeared in France during the Last Century* (London: H.S. Nichols, 1895), 68.

[202] David Charlton, *French Opera, 1730-1830: Meaning and Media*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS634 (Aldershot ; Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, 2000), III–98.

two key scenes, the magic picture scene and the scene in Azor's garden in the final act. The Comédie-Italienne needed to go through the trouble and expense of adding additional wind and horn players to its roster just for these orchestral special effects.[203] Marmontel himself indicated the importance of the orchestra, especially in combination with the text, in *Zémire et Azor*'s published libretto.[204] In Ali's first aria, the servant tries to convince his master, Sander, that they should leave Azor's spooky castle, explaining that the storm that had been raging outside was over and no longer prevented their exit. The orchestra continues playing storm motifs, emphasizing the fact that Ali is lying.[205] This effect can be clearly heard in live performances of the opera, but Marmontel wanted to make sure it was just as clear in the printed libretto. He therefore included a simple note: "L'accompagnement contrarie les paroles," or "the accompaniment contradicts the words."[206] In this way, the poet folded Grétry's music into his own authorial domain.

Zémire et Azor's Translation into Italian

Zémire et Azor's popularity soon extended beyond Paris, and as it started to circulate outside of France, it began to appear in translation. In fact, according to Grétry's *Memoires*, one singer reported to the composer that he had performed the opera in Flemish, German, and French, all in the course of one day.[207] In Mannheim, another major musical center during the eighteenth century, French opéras-comiques in both Italian and German translations began to be popular beginning in 1759. The Roman poet Mattia Verazi (1739-1794), who was appointed Court Poet of Mannheim in 1756, was

[203] Ibid.

[204] Ibid., -24.

[205] Ibid., V–24.

[206] André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry and Jean-François Marmontel, *Zémire et Azor* (Paris: Chez Vente, 1772). The contradiction between orchestral accompaniment and sung text brings to mind Oreste's aria "Le calme renter dans mons cœur," discussed in the previous chapter.

[207] André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Memoires; Ou, Essais Sur La Musique*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 228.

tasked with adapting these French operas into Italian for German audiences as well as writing his own original libretti.[208] In many ways, Verazi's job at the Mannheim court was analogous to Da Ponte's at the King's Theatre a few decades later. Even when he was not working directly with French libretti, French opera was a strong influence on Verazi's own poetic work.[209] Verazi wrote his translation of *Zémire et Azor* from the French into Italian for Mannheim in 1776. The text that was spoken in the original French version was translated into Italian by Verazi and set to music by Ignaz Holzbauer, Mannheim's Kappellmeister from 1752 to 1778.[210] Grétry's music for the arias and sung ensembles remained, for the most part, unchanged. The part of Azor was played in Mannheim by the castrato Francesco Roncaglia,[211] who went on to play the role in London.

The libretto to the Mannheim libretto, published in 1776, contained a note explaining Verazi's labor as translator, and apologizing that in keeping the original music that was written by Grétry for the sung French text, Verazi was prevented from writing as elegantly in Italian as he was accustomed:

> The present version, or rather paraphrase, is by Verazi. In undertaking this work, he found himself obliged to preserve intact the music written for the French original. That language, being in its prosody, and in its meter, essentially different from the Tuscan language; he doesn't know how happily he has succeeded, in spite of his untiring work, not to rob his poem of all the beauty of the style, equality of measure, and harmony of verse that come together in good Italian musical poetry.[212]

---

[208] Nicole Edwina Ivy Baker, "Italian Opera at the Court of Mannheim, 1758-1770" (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994), 79–82.

[209] Ibid., 82.

[210] Paul Edward Corneilson, "Opera at Mannheim, 1770-1778" (Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), 131.

[211] Ibid., 365.

[212] Quoted in Ibid., 121. La presente versione, anzi parafrasi è del Verazi. Nell'intraprender questo lavoro si trovò egli obbligato a conserver intatta la musica scritta per l'originale Francese. Quella lingua essendo nella prosodia, e nel metro dal Toscano idioma essenzialmente diversa; non sa quanto sarà felicemente riuscito, non ostante il più enorme, indesesso [*sic*] travaglio, a non defraudar il suo poema di tutta quella venustà di stile, uguaglianza di misura, ed armonia di verso, che convengono alla buona Italiana musical poesia.

The note is unattributed, but it is probable that Verazi wrote it himself, as an apologia. In fact, it is remarkably similar to the notes Da Ponte wrote to accompany his translations of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, which Chapter 1 explored, and of *La belle Arsène*, which this chapter will examine later. But the authorship of the note does not matter as much as its content. The author of this explanation cannot decide whether to call the Italianized opéra-comique a "version" or a "paraphrase." According to the dictionary published by the Florentine Accademia della Crusca in volumes from 1729 to 1738, the definition of "parafrasi" is "traduzione ampliata" or "amplified translation."[213] Verazi is thus positioned between the role of a translator and that of an adaptor. In addition, this is a record of the drive "to conserve" the music in the practice of fashioning singable Italian translations, while all the while trying to elevate the beauty of Italian poetry under almost impossible constraints. If this note is a genuine expression of Verazi's poetics, his translation attempts to mediate not only between languages and literatures, but also between music and text. Verazi gives passing mention to the "originale Francese," but takes on the original (French) music as an equal partner in his "amplified translation."

Nicole Baker asserts in her dissertation on Italian opera at the court of Mannheim that Verazi's most significant contribution to Italian opera reform was not the work he produced, but rather the process he used, which "involved greater collaboration between composer and librettist…yielding a more integrated and dramatic whole."[214] If this were the case, Verazi would have found it difficult but necessary to write his poetry for *Zémire*

[213] Accademia della Crusca., "parafrasi," *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venezia: L. Baseggio, 1741), http://www.lessicografia.it/pagina.jsp?ediz=4&vol=3&pag=485&tipo=1.

[214] Baker, "Italian Opera at the Court of Mannheim, 1758-1770," 188.

et Azor with no way to communicate with Grétry about the constraints of the composer's preexisting music.[215]

Thomas Betzwieser's 2002 article "Opéra comique als italienische Hofoper: Grétrys *Zémire et Azor* in Mannheim (1776)" provides a detailed examination of the incarnations of the opera in Mannheim. Betzwieser affirms that there were definitely two versions written by Verazi for Mannheim for which complete libretti exist. Although neither of the versions is dated, he makes a good case for one of them being a correction of the other, emending the first version to make the opera more in the vein of an Italian opera as performed at court. In the second version, Verazi strayed farther from the French original in order to normalize the distribution between recitative and arias. In adding more arias to the original opera, Verazi also fit his new Italian version to the conventions of the Mannheim company, allowing minor characters such as Zémire's sisters, and not just the lead role sung by the prima donna, to have their moments in the spotlight.[216]

The considerable wealth of information about Mattia Verazi's Italian translation of *Zémire et Azor* for Mannheim, along with the Mannheim libretti's close similarity to the libretti that later appeared in London, means that Da Ponte could not have had much of a role in the development of the Italian translation of *Zémire et Azor* that appeared at the King's Theatre during his tenure in 1796. The modifications made to the text of musical numbers in the Italian London libretti of 1779, 1781 and 1796 are minimal, with only a few small changes in about fifteen lines of text, altogether. None of these substitutions,

[215] Mattia Verazi often collaborated with Niccolò Jommelli, whose musical settings of the recitative in *Zémire et Azor* appear in at least one score (BnF).

[216] Thomas. Betzwieser, "Opéra Comique Als Italienische Hofoper: Grétrys 'Zemira e Azor' in Mannheim (1776)," in *Mannheim–ein Paradies Der Tonkünstler?: Kongressbericht Mannheim 1999*, ed. L. Finscher, B. Pelker, and R. Thomsen-Fürst, Quellen Und Studien Zur Geschichte Der Mannheimer Hofkapelle (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2002), 443.

deletions, or additions greatly change the meaning of the text.[217] These minimal changes do not show any evidence whatsoever that Da Ponte participated in shaping the opera's libretto. In fact, they quite strongly prove that the anecdote in Da Ponte's *Memorie* is fallacious. In Da Ponte's own hierarchy of authorship, his minimal contributions to the London *Zémire et Azor* would place him on quite a low rung.[218]

London Reception of *Zémire et Azor*

As stated above, Madame de Beaumont's "Beauty and the Beast" story first appeared in London in 1756 in French, before it was translated into English four years later. The audiences at the King's Theatre could therefore have been familiar with the tale when Grétry's opera appeared onstage in 1779. In fact, there is evidence that the names "Zémire" and "Azor," those given to the title characters in the opera by Marmontel, and different from de Beaumont's "la Belle" and "la Bête," were known in London at the time.[219] When the opera finally arrived in London, *Zémire et Azor* was the first of Grétry's works to be performed at the King's Theatre, and it was unusual in the context of the

[217] There are only two moments where the London libretti differ considerably from each other. The 1779 libretto includes an aria for Ali in Act I Scene IV: "Per me certo più non viaggio," which is a translation of the original French aria "Plus de voyage qui me tente." The later London libretti leave this aria out. The one place in which all three libretti differ is for Azor's aria in Act IV Scene III, in which, dejected, he is afraid Zémire will never return to him. In the 1779 libretto, at this point in the opera, Azor declares that he will die and finally be free of his torment. Then, after Zémire returns and sings the aria "Azor invano" Azor replies with another aria, "Senza te," in which he declares he cannot live without Zémire. In the 1781 version, in an aria with a completely different text, Azor bemoans his fate and calls out for Zémire, who has abandoned him. In 1796, the two parts of the 1779 libretto before and after "Azor invano" are pieced together with a few lines modified, and it appears as a single elegant aria in which Azor calls to Zémire lovingly and says that he will die without her. At this moment in the BnF score, the aria included for Azor is a more literal translation from the French "Toi, Zémire," which became "Tu Zemira" in Italian, in which Azor briefly considers avenging himself on Zémire before concluding he is incapable of hurting the one he loves. The aria "Tu Zemira" was published in London in the early 1790s and attributed to Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, an Italian composer who moved to London in 1792. However, a comparison between the music in the BnF score and Grétry's original Parisian score shows that the music is the same in both versions.

[218] C. F. Badini, A.M., and LL.B. are listed in print as collaborators who may have fulfilled this editorial role as well. I have yet to discover to whom the last grouping of initials might belong.

[219] In 1776 a Mr. M. Dawes, probably Manasseh Dawes, who was a Barrister of the Inner Temple, published a poem in the Morning Chronicle entitled "Azore to Zemira," in which Azor begs for Zémire to return to him after he has let her go home and see her family again, a plot point in Grétry's opera.M Dawes, "Azore to Zemira," *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, May 16, 1776.

King's Theatre repertory in that it did not neatly fit into the general opera buffa and opera seria categories.[220] There were comic characters, such as Ali, but Zémire and Azor were more classically tragic protagonists. As in Mannheim, the French spoken dialogue was converted into Italian recitative, removing a strong generic marker of opéra comique.

There was limited critical response to *Zémire et Azor*'s London premiere, but the reviews that do exist note that the theater was crowded, and that the audience was not only full, but full of particularly fashionable members of society.[221] The opera was performed several times throughout the 1779 season, always paired with ballets that changed as the run progressed. At first, the ballets were all connected to the opera, enacting Zémire's coronation as princess for instance, but in later performances, perhaps as the subject's novelty wore off, the ballets paired with *Zémire et Azor* began to diverge greatly in theme, and by April of 1779, the fairytale opera was advertised alongside a military pantomime.[222]

A letter to the editor of the *Morning Post* contains the most extensive personal account of the opera published in the press. The writer, who signs his name "PHILO-HARMONY" and says he lives in the country with his much younger wife, demonstrates what elements of the opera casual audience members might have recalled from viewing one performance. Philo-harmony is not a professional reviewer, and some of his statements are so vague that they can be interpreted several ways. For example, he mentions "wares imported from abroad" appearing on the opera stage.[223] It is difficult to know whether this is a reference to the opera's importation from France, its linguistic

[220] T. Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 103; Price et al., *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, 212–216.

[221] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, April 15, 1779.

[222] *Ibid.*

[223] "For the Morning Post," *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, March 6, 1779.

identity as Italian, or its Arabian setting. Philo-harmony does seem to have a rather critical view of other, presumably Italian, comic operas he has seen, calling them "verba and voces." This phrase, Latin for "words and voices," implies that these two important elements in Italian operatic performance are disconnected, or that they don't combine to create something more than the sum of their parts.[224] The main focus of Philo-harmony's review is the magic displayed in the opera, showing that the London audiences were as equally struck with *Zémire et Azor*'s magical elements as had been Marie-Antoinette and the French audience. In a postscript, he mentions "a gentleman whose curiosity led him to step on the stage to look at Zemira's apartment."[225] Although he includes this anecdote to recount the audience's outraged reaction to this overstepping of boundaries, the story also gives a window into the reaction that nameless "gentleman" had to that same performance. We can imagine that he was so fascinated by the magic that he needed to prove to himself that his eyes had deceived him during the performance. His post-show inspection of the props, scenery, and backdrops was necessary to form a clear-headed image of the reality of the situation.

The magic was not all that made the opera popular, however. The music seller William Napier advertised as early as March of 1779 that he had already published music for *Zémire et Azor*, with the Italian text as sung at the King's Theatre. Printed as "The Favourite Songs in the Opera *Zemira e Azore* by Sig.r Gretry," the volume contains the arias "Rosa vezzosa," "D'amor penando," "Se amore l'inspira," and "Senza te bell'idol

[224] This echoes the concerns of Gluck and Calzabigi voiced in the preface to *Alceste*: "I determined to restrict music to its true function, namely, to enhance poetry in terms of expression and the situation it relates, without interrupting the action or numbing it with useless and superfluous ornaments."Quoted in this translation in: Enrico Fubini and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds., *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 364–5.

[225] "For the Morning Post."

mio," as well as the trios "Ah per pietade oh Dio" and "Vegliamo già vien l'aurora."[226] The popularity of these "songs" from the opera contributed to its being revived at the King's Theatre soon after, in the 1781 season.

The 1781 production kept the same basic libretto as the 1779 version; however, this second London production was made considerably different through a casting choice. In any revival production, it is common for the cast to differ from that in the original run. The timbre of each singer's voice and the nuances of his or her individual performance can shape the opera's performance and the audience's reception of it. In this case, one of the title characters, Azor, the Prince turned beast, who was portrayed by a tenor in Paris and in the opera's first London outing, was played in 1781 by Roncaglia the castrato who had played the role in Mannheim. The part of Azor would have had to be made higher-pitched for Roncaglia. Changing the part of Azor from tenor to castrato was not only a matter of range, however. Castrati had a different timbre to their voices as well as different vocal capabilities due to their differences in body type.[227] Voice parts at that time were not as closely linked to character as they would be a hundred years later.[228] However, the castrato was tied closely to the tradition of opera seria, a genre at odds with the French opéra-comique. This change of voice part did not pass unnoticed, and it was not appreciated by all reviewers:

> Tho' we think none are better calculated to act the Part of a Monster than those Italian *Mancanti*, we are of Opinion that the Character would sit easier on a *Man*; as, from the Plot itself, it means to represent a lovely, but

[226] André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, "The Favourite Songs in the Opera Zemira E Azore, Etc." (W. Napier, 1779).

[227] For an in-depth discussion of the capabilities and limitations of the castrato voice, as well as a discussion of the voice's connection to the castrato's body, see Part II of Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

[228] For an overview of the connections between operatic character types and vocal Fachs, see: K. Mitchells, "Operatic Characters and Voice Type," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970): 47–58. For a more in-depth discussion of these voice types as they were codified in late-eighteenth century operas like those of Verdi, see: Gilles de Van, *Verdi's Theater: Creating Drama through Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 98.

> unfortunate Prince, transformed, by the Art of a wicked Fairy, into the frightful Shape he is to lose, when beloved by a young beautiful Virgin.[229]

First and foremost, it is clear from this review that London audiences thought of castrati as intrinsically Italian. Instead of the word "castrati," the reviewer uses the word "mancanti" referring, rather rudely, to the missing parts of Roncaglia's body. The negative connotations of this terminology are reinforced by the reviewer's assertion that Roncaglia is not a man. Although Roncaglia's deformed body could "act the Part of a Monster," he could not easily act the part of a Prince. When the opera was revived again in 1783, a tenor, Giuseppe Viganoni, was back in the role.

The opera returned to the stage at the King's Theatre for yet another outing in 1787, without much critical response. In 1796, however, the opera had not been performed for several years, and it made a splash when it reappeared at the King's Theatre for the benefit of Viganoni, who apparently wanted to reprise the role of Azor. At least one reviewer used the occasion to remember previous productions:

> *Zemira and Azor* was performed fifteen years ago with the greatest success, although the parts were then filled by performers very inferior to the present company, which certainly has never been equaled in first-rate talents.[230]

The opera closed the 1795-6 season and then opened the next season, due to its immense popularity among audiences.[231]

Grétry's *Zémire et Azor* in Italian translation was not the only version of the opera in circulation in London in the 1780s. In fact, before Verazi's translation of *Zémire et Azor* premiered at the King's Theatre, an English-language version was being performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane. This version, which premiered on December 5, 1776, was an

---

[229] "Opera-House Intelligence," *Public Advertiser*, March 9, 1781.

[230] "The Opera," *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, July 23, 1796.

[231] However, Theodore Fenner, in his detailed study of opera reviews in London at the turn of the nineteenth century, found that the critical reception to *Zémire et Azor* was less effusive. Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*, 104.

opera with dialogue, just like the French original. However, Grétry's music had been replaced by a new score by Thomas Linley, and Marmontel's French text had been translated into English by Sir George Collier.[232] Collier was a well-known member of the Royal Navy who dabbled in the theater. Collier called his own work "an Imitation of the French Zémire & Azor."[233] The press more straightforwardly called the work a "translation."[234] The English follows the French relatively faithfully, although the Drury Lane version was not performed as a main attraction and therefore needed to be considerably shorter than the French version.

Thomas Linley's music for an English-language version of the same story, "Selima and Azor," was advertised in a 1784 libretto as being based on an originally French libretto. This attribution makes no mention of the Italian translation of the French opera, which, as we have seen, had been popular for years in London. In another omission, Grétry was not credited anywhere in the libretto or performance advertisements, even though his music was the basis for Linley's new score.[235] Although the music was newly composed, Linley took his cue from Grétry at several moments. For example, Selima's aria, "The parent bird with trembling care," featured highly ornamented writing for the soprano alongside a high obbligato instrumental line. These features, meant to imitate birdsong, are present in Grétry's music to Zémire's aria "Le fauvette avec ses petites" in Act III Scene V in the French opera, which became "L'usignolo che al nido intorno," Act II Scene V in the Italian King's Theatre production.

---

[232] Linley had recently taken over the directorship of the Drury Lane theater from David Garrick, and this was the first of his own works to be performed there since his appointment. Gail Miller Armondino, "The Opera Comique in London, or Transforming French Comic Opera for the English Stage, 1770-1789" (Ph.D., The Catholic University of America, 2000), 271.

[233] George Collier, *Selima & Azor, a Persian Tale in Three Parts* (London: Bell, 1784).

[234] Armondino, "The Opera Comique in London, or Transforming French Comic Opera for the English Stage, 1770-1789," 297.

[235] Ibid., 271.

In the Grétry, the instrument was a flute, and in the Linley, it was a violin, but the idea was still too similar to have been coincidental.[236]

Premiered on December 5, 1776, Linley and Collier's opera was relatively well-received by audiences and the press, although some reviewers critiqued the work as a "trifle" meant for French audiences less discerning than the English.[237] The special effects and elaborate scenery went over well at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane,[238] just as they had at Fontainebleau, the Comédie-Italienne, and the King's Theatre. The opera was performed at Drury Lane throughout December, January, February, and March of the 1776-7 season, and then again for shorter runs in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1788, 1789, and 1792.[239] The scenery wasn't the only element that contributed to its popularity. The music was also a success, drawing on the current trend of a more simple, lyrical, English style. The aria "No flower that blows is like a rose" was especially popular.[240]

Despite the piece's popularity, some critics denounced it because of the original material's French extraction. The trend at Drury Lane to put on translations of French plays and operas chafed against the London theatergoers' pride in English stagecraft. "Is the cold inanimate Poetry of the French Drama to be put in competition with the bold manly flights that adorn the page of the English Poets?" one correspondent to the

---

[236] Linley's own son played this obbligato violin part at Drury Lane. Ibid., 272.

[237] Ibid., 297.

[238] Ibid., 291–292.

[239] Ben Ross Schneider, *Index to The London Stage, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 174.

[240] Indeed, this aria was so widely performed that it was soon referenced in works of several different genres. It made its way into the second volume of Domenico Corri's compendium of vocal music among other "English Songs and Duetts, was introduced into a performance of *Much Ado about Nothing* in Dublin in 1788, was the caption of a satirical cartoon of the dancer Rose Didelot, and was sung in a scene from the novel "Clara Lennox; or, the Distressed widow" written by Margaret Lee in 1797. (See: Domenico Corri, ed., *English Songs and Duetts*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Corri, 1779).; John C Greene, *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1822: A Calendar of Performances* (Bethlehem: Lehigh Univ. Press, 2011), 2491.; James Gillray, *No Flower That Blows Is like This Rose*, print, 1796.; and Margaret Lee, *Clara Lennox; or The Distressed Widow* (London: J. Adlard, 1797), 92.)

Selector asked.[241] In a later review of *Selima and Azor*, or "*Zemire and Azor* introduced in English dress," the same correspondent wrote sarcastically of the opera's pan-European fame:

> The clinquat [*sic*][242] of the piece so adapted to the genius of the French, gained it the highest encomiums --- The charms of music, the richness of decorations, to a people who do not think, are more than sufficient passports --- a piece so applauded could not be long before it reached Bruxelles. It was received there with rapture, imitators of the Parisians, they copy them in their praises, dress, manners, and even their *facon de penser*. Zemire and Azor was soon after represented at the Hague: that gay polite village, could not but admire what was applauded at Paris.[243]

The reviewer derides the music and decorations as elements of operatic performance that do not require thought, in his effort to insult the minds of French, Belgian, and Dutch audience members. However, these aspects of opera performance, along with the social component of opera-going were exactly what audience members at the King's Theatre enjoyed. The performance of opera in Italian made the text of the opera into another sonic decoration rather than a purveyor of semantic content.

When writing about Grétry's original overture and how it was excised to make way for a score entirely by Linley, the same reviewer writes, "Surely, if the manager thinks French translation adapted to the taste of the town, why not preserve a piece of music, which speaks all languages…."[244] His main source of outrage in this review seems to be the fact that English actors and singers are being asked to represent French theater on their stages. He would much prefer for a French troupe to do so and to leave English theater companies to put on Shakespeare and other specimens of English genius.[245] This forms part of an ongoing tension between Francophilia and Francophobia that I explore

---

[241] *The Selector*, vol. 1 (London: Laidler's-Office, 1776), 298.

[242] I believe that the author intended to use the word "clinquant" to refer to the glittering of the decorations.

[243] *The Selector*.

[244] Ibid., 1:302.

[245] Ibid., 1:304.

more fully in the next chapter. The King's Theatre kept Grétry's music intact while the Theatre Royal Drury Lane did more violence to the original in an effort to make it into a more British product.[246] This reviewer, it seems, preferred the methods of the King's Theatre. Although *Zémire et Azor* in Italian was based on the same French opera as was the English *Selima and Azor*, the fact that it was in Italian and not in English and sung by foreigners and not British singers, made it more acceptable.

Zémire et Azor as translated into English by Collier and into Italian by Verazi had one main thing in common in terms of their critical response in London: the translator's labor was undervalued by critics. The fact that the works were in translation allowed them to be presented to the London public in the first place. The audience at Drury Lane could understand the content of the vernacular libretto and feel an immediate connection to the story, and the audience at the King's Theatre could experience a beautifully staged and performed exotic import that they could pretend was wholly Italian in nature. However, whenever reviewers of either *Zémire et Azor* or *Selima and Azor* mention that these operas are translations from an original French source, it is to disparage them as having been poorly adapted or for being intrinsically too foreign and not sufficiently British. In late eighteenth-century London, at least in the world of opera, translators were unlikely to be given credit for their work. They labored behind the scenes, fueling the entertainment industry by making large segments of theatrical repertoire accessible to British audiences, but their efforts were more frequently disparaged than praised. The critiques have less to do with the quality of the translations than of the fact that translations were necessary – that British entertainments were not sufficient.

[246] One reviewer wrote of the 1781 production of the Italian *Zémire et Azor* playing at the King's Theatre, "as our Readers are acquainted with the Drama itself, we shall say nothing of it. As to the Music, in its original State, a Comparison with that of Linley would greatly prejudice the latter's Credit as a Composer." "Opera-House Intelligence."

La belle Arsène

Zémire et Azor's magical elements, tuneful music, and familiar but exotic feel, made it a popular offering at the King's Theatre in the 1780s and 1790s. Monsigny and Favart's opera *La belle Arsène*, premiered at Fontainebleau in 1773, and is a counterpart of sorts to *Zémire et Azor*. The fact that the two operas were performed in short succession in Paris in the 1770s and then in London in Italian translation in the 1790s already make them an interesting pair, but Da Ponte's confusion of the two operas provides a further reason to place them side by side.

Like *Zémire et Azor*, *La belle Arsène* was based on a French fairytale of sorts: Voltaire's 1772 short story *La Bégeule*. *La belle Arsène*'s librettist Charles Simon Favart and Voltaire had a long history of mutual admiration. Voltaire first disapproved of Favart's poetry when it won a major prize in 1736, but once Favart started to adapt Voltaire's own work into operas, Voltaire began to approve heartily.[247] As he wrote to Favart in 1765:

> Everything that you do seems to me easy to recognize, and when I see at the same time finesse, gaiety, naturalness, grace, and lightness, I say that it is you, and I am never wrong. You are the inventor of an infinitely agreeable genre; the opera will have in you its Molière, just like it had its Racine in Quinault.[248]

When Voltaire saw an operatic impulse in his own story, *La Bégueule*, in 1772, he therefore turned to Favart.[249] He was not disappointed with the finished opera, writing that *La belle Arsène* was a "charming work, full of grace and delicacy." He enjoyed the changes that Favart had made to his story to render it more suited for the theater.[250] Favart, in turn, was a great admirer of Voltaire's writings. Although he did not always

[247] Ingrid Kyler Gilchrist, "Charles Simon Favart's Contribution to Eighteenth Century French Comedy" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1975), 212.

[248] Quoted in Ibid.

[249] Ibid., 213.

[250] Ibid., 214.

agree with the morals the philosophe espoused,[251] Favart adapted six of Voltaire's works for the stage.[252]

La Béguile was a *conte morale*, just like de Beaumont's story which served as a model for *Zémire et Azor*.[253] The *conte moral* was a popular genre of the Enlightenment, as its pedantic nature took part in the democratization of education desired by philosophes. It "sought to warn earnestly" against moral failings, and it taught its readers lessons by making them feel by proxy, through the story's characters.[254] Although the stories were often set in the real world, they had a fantastical component as well. As Dorothy McGhee writes, "As never before or since, the moral tale performed that magic of elevating the self to a huge portraiture, comfortably subdued in coloring and gold-framed in goodness."[255] This framing worked well on paper, but was sometimes difficult to adapt to the stage. An opera's extended form meant that the moral took longer to get to than in a short story, and the episodes along the way had the power to distract from the overall goal of audience edification. Jean-François de La Harpe, who was himself a playwright, took offense at one such episode in *La belle Arsène*, the Coalman scene described in detail below. In this scene, Arsène finds herself alone in the desert where she is propositioned by a brutish man who wants to make her his twelfth wife. This episode also appears in Voltaire's *La Béguile*.[256] However, Favart's adaptation waters down Voltaire's rather direct moral tale by adding a love story and various chivalric episodes, all of which distracted from the tale's thrust. In this context, the Coalman scene

[251] Favart was a devout Catholic. Ibid., 214–216.

[252] Ibid., 216.

[253] Ibid., 218.

[254] Dorothy Madeleine. McGhee, *The Cult of the "Conte Moral"* (Menasha, Wissconsin: George Banta Company, 1960), 18.

[255] Ibid., 76.

[256] Gilchrist, "Charles Simon Favart's Contribution to Eighteenth Century French Comedy," 221.

seems more like a salacious escapade than a necessary step on Arsène's journey towards self-betterment.

La belle Arsène's Plot

The opera opens with Alcindor bemoaning the pangs of his unrequited love for Arsène. Artur, Alcindor's squire, enters, and they talk of a jousting tournament in which the unknown victor impressed Arsène. Alcindor reveals that it was he who won the tournament, in disguise. When Artur leaves, the fairy Aline enters to console Alcindor. She knows he is in love with the proud Arsène, and she vows that Arsène will return Alcindor's love as long as he follows her instructions. Aline proposes the use of reverse psychology, telling Alcindor that instead of trying to solicit love from Arsène, he must act contrary to her wishes. Arsène appears, surrounded by admirers, and complains about the number of men she has had to send away as they bored her with words of love. She sings of marriage as a prison and of the sweetness of liberty. Alcindor begins to speak with Arsène, but Artur interrupts, presenting Arsène with a bracelet from the unknown winner of the tournament, saying that her beauty inspired him to win. She asserts that her heart and hand are not the prizes at stake and asks him to return the gift to his master. Arturo accidentally reveals that the victor is in fact Alcindor. With his plan in pieces, Alcindor decides to profess his love again. Arsène declares that she will never love and will remove herself from Alcindor's sight to ensure that she is not tempted by him.

The second act begins with Alcindor, alone, in despair yet again. When Arsène appears, surprised to see him again, Alcindor decides to take Aline's advice and spars with Arsène, calling her haughty. Arsène is outraged and complains to Aline of the monstrousness of all men, and especially Alcindor. She begs Aline to take her to a happier place. Aline obliges, whisking her off.

The third act apparently begins in the place to which Arsène begged to go, an enchanted garden. However, Arsène is melancholy. She wishes for new sights, but she doesn't know exactly what she would like to see. She is having trouble forgetting Alcindor, so she asks to be entertained with song and dance. When only women sing in the concert, she is alarmed to find that men are not allowed in this realm of beauty. Arsène sees a female statue in the garden, and learns that the statue had been a woman who had scorned all men. At this point, the statue returns to life, confronted by Arsène, who she perceives to be a woman more cruel even she herself had been. Arsène sings again of the sweetness of freedom, but this time she seems uncertain. Arsène confesses to Aline that she has been thinking of Alcindor. Aline says that she is planning to bring Alcindor to the Cave of Indifference, which cools the love of all who enter. Aline stages Alcindor's entrance to the Cave as Arsène watches apprehensively. The oracle of the Cave declares that it will not take away all of Alcindor's love because he is destined to live happily ever after with a woman waiting for him at home. Arsène feels herself neglected and alone as the second act comes to a close.

The final act opens in a "dreadful desert" during a tempest. Arsène is still alone, scared by nature's wrath. She sees what she thinks is a monster, but it is just the Coalman enjoying his drink. The Coalman invites Arsène to safety, but also to his bed. She tries to explain who she is, but he does not care – he only wishes to make her his twelfth wife. She faints from fear, and the Coalman runs off to get help. Alone again, Arsène examines her past behavior, which she now sees as wrong. A wedding party enters – they are celebrating Alcindor's marriage. Arsène is filled with grief and remorse but determines to see Alcindor's bride and tell her how lucky she is. Aline sees Arsène's complete change of heart and reveals that Arsène herself is Alcindor's bride. Alcindor

apologizes for the deception, and Arsène admits that she can only be happy in love. The opera ends with a joyful chorus.

Favart and Monsigny's Collaboration

According to Favart scholar Ingrid Gilchrist, *La belle Arsène* represents a new direction in Favart's work. He was used to filling out his dramas with preexisting songs from various composers. However, public opinion had turned against these so-called "comédies en vaudevilles" in the 1760s. For *La belle Arsène*, therefore, Favart asked Monsigny to supply all of the music specifically for the opera. Gilchrist comments on the large text-to-music ratio in the opera, opining that "Favart was not willing nor able to subordinate himself to the dictates of another artist."[257] Favart and Monsigny worked together by necessity, and it was not an equal and mutually fulfilling collaboration.

La belle Arsène premiered at Fontainebleau on November 6, 1773. It had so little success there that Favart and Monsigny, who had been planning to present it to a more public audience soon after, found that they first needed to make major revisions.[258] The opera did not appear in Paris proper until August 14, 1775 at the Comédie-Italienne.[259] The revised opera also met mediocre reviews. Critics found it unexciting despite their appreciation for magic on the stage. The critic sent by the *Mercure* enjoyed the music, but other critics found it bland.[260] Despite these mediocre reviews, so different from *Zémire et Azor*'s immediate accolades, *La belle Arsène* was often revived in Paris.[261]

---

[257] Ibid., 244.

[258] A. Pougin, *Monsigny et Son Temps: L'Opéra-Comique et La Comédie-Italienne, Les Auteurs, Les Compositeurs, Les Chanteurs* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1908), 162–163.

[259] In the intervening two years, Favart had in fact tried to abandon the project. He attempted to convince Monsigny that the music he had written for *La belle Arsène* could be used instead in another drama he was writing. Monsigny, however, believed that the music he had written was specific to the opera and did not want to move it into a new and inappropriate context, and the two carried on. Ibid., 165.

[260] Ibid., 170.

[261] Ibid., 174. The opera also had great success in Belgium.

La belle Arsène's Translation into Italian: Da Ponte's Translator's Note

Unlike *Zémire et Azor*, which has very little connection to Da Ponte besides the anecdote in his *Memorie*, the translation of *La belle Arsène* is clearly Da Ponte's work. The opera's libretto, published in 1775, proclaims it to have been "Improved by Laurence Da Ponte, the poet of this theatre." Extracts from the opera's score, which were printed soon after, likewise affirmed that "the words [were] by Sig.r Da Ponte."[262] Da Ponte may have been glad to be recognized for his labor, but he was also concerned about the quality of the poetry he had produced. Following the chorus of nymphs in Act II Scene 2 of the published London libretto to *La belle Arsène*, there is a note, presumably by Da Ponte. It reads: "N.B. The irregular meter of this chorus and of some of the arias in this opera comes from the need for a slavish translation for the harmony and comfort of the original music."[263] This note is the one section of the libretto that is not translated into English, since it has no bearing on the English poetry. The note is tucked into the libretto solely for a subset of the audience – those that read Italian fluently, and who would have been upset by the irregular meter for which Da Ponte is apologizing. The French text can be found in **Table** 8. The typical line-length is seven syllables, and most of the lines meet these specifications, but the first and third lines are only six syllables, and the fourth line is eight. Similarly, there are rhymes at the ends of lines as well as internal rhymes, but in no discernable pattern. The French poem is therefore a bit inelegant.

---

[262] Favart and Monsigny, *La Bella Arsene, an Heroic Opera, in Three Acts; as Performed at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket*; Lorenzo Da Ponte, Pierre Alexandre Monsigny, and Joseph Mazzinghi, "Nei Sguardi Ritrosi," in *The Songs, Duetts &c. in the Favorite Opera La Bella Arsene*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: G. Goulding, 1796), 14–21.

[263] Favart and Monsigny, *La Bella Arsene, an Heroic Opera, in Three Acts; as Performed at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket*, 44. "N. B. Il metro irregolare di questo coro e di alcune arie di quest'opera proviene dalla necessità di una traduzione servile, per l'armonia e comodo della musica originale."

Table 8: *La belle Arsène* Chorus

French Text	**Italian Text**
Exaltons (A) Et chantons (A)	Esaltiam (A) e cantiam (A)
Notre auguste souveraine (B)	La nostr'inclita regina (B)
Ses attraits enchanteurs (C)	A lei sol ogni cor (C)
Sont une chaine (B) pour les coeurs (C)	Quella fiamma che ci accende (D)
Exprimons par nos accords (D)	Esprimiam ne' canti nostri; (E)
L'ardeur (C) que l'on sent pour elle, (E)	E si mostra a lei l'amor (C)
Exprimons par nos accords (D)	Nei trasporti della fe' (F)
Notre zèle (E) Et nos transports. (D)	Elle sol ha qui vittoria (G)
	Sopra noi l'impero ell'ha (H)
	Onorarla è nostra Gloria (G)
	Meritiam la sua bontà (H)
	Sempre sia di tal dì (I)
	Cara a noi la memoria. (G)

Da Ponte's Italian, for which he apologizes, is similarly clunky. Here, the typical line-length is an ottonario, with all but the first and third lines matching this length. There is less rhyming in the Italian than in the French, and when there are rhymes, they are also irregular, with the exception of the alternating rhyme scheme in the eighth through eleventh lines. The only internal rhymes in the Italian are within the first line, but, just as in the French, these are basically accidental due to the words' third-person plural conjugations. Da Ponte struggles not only to set the new Italian text to the original music, as the following analysis demonstrates, but also to "improve" the strange nature of the original poem. Da Ponte's translation, on the whole, is less literal than his translations of *Iphigènie en Tauride* and *Évélina*, relying less on words shared between the two languages than on the general sentiment expressed in each sentence. Da Ponte's note speaks to the "slavishness" of his translation, but it is clear that some creativity was involved.

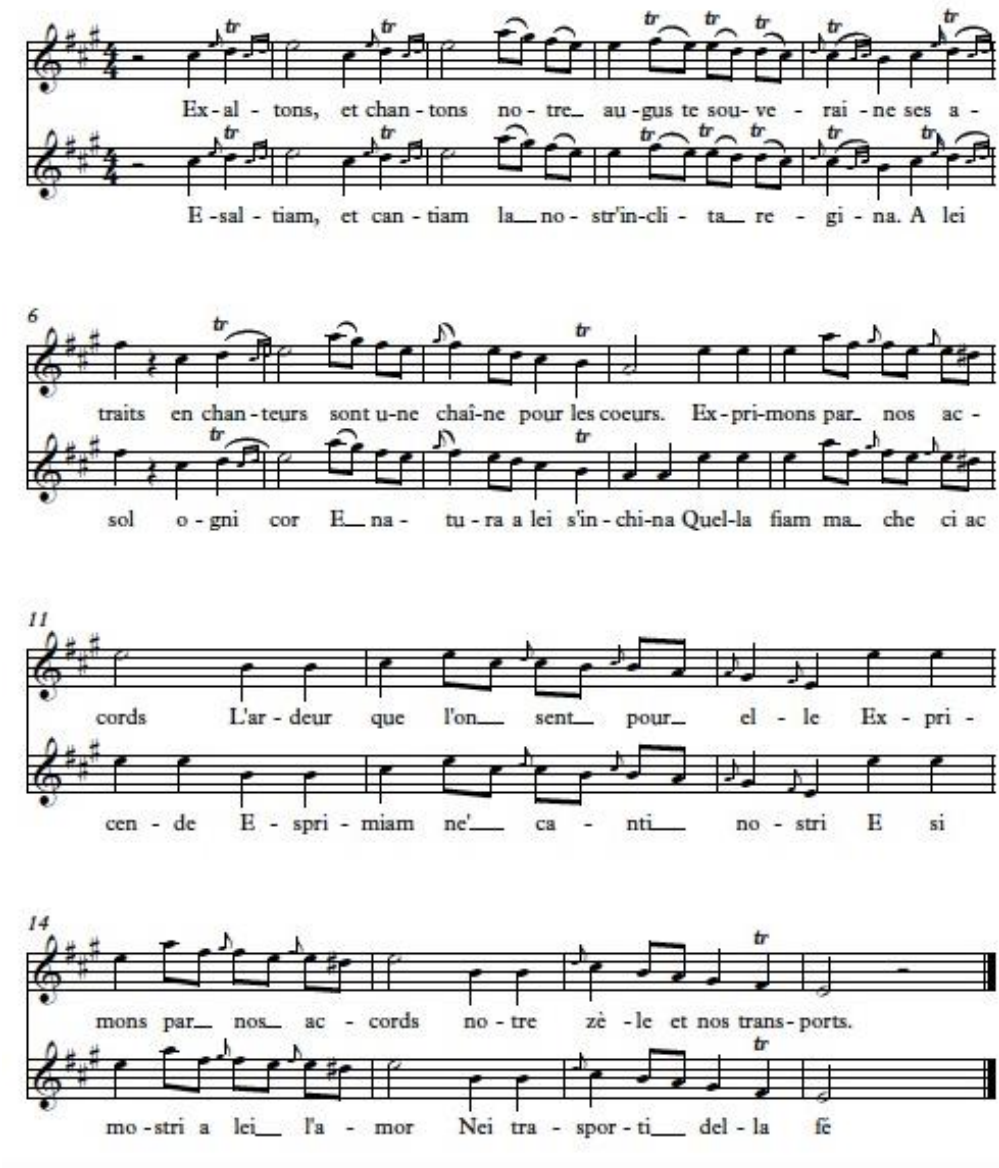


Figure 3: *La belle Arsène* Chorus Verse 1 in French and Italian

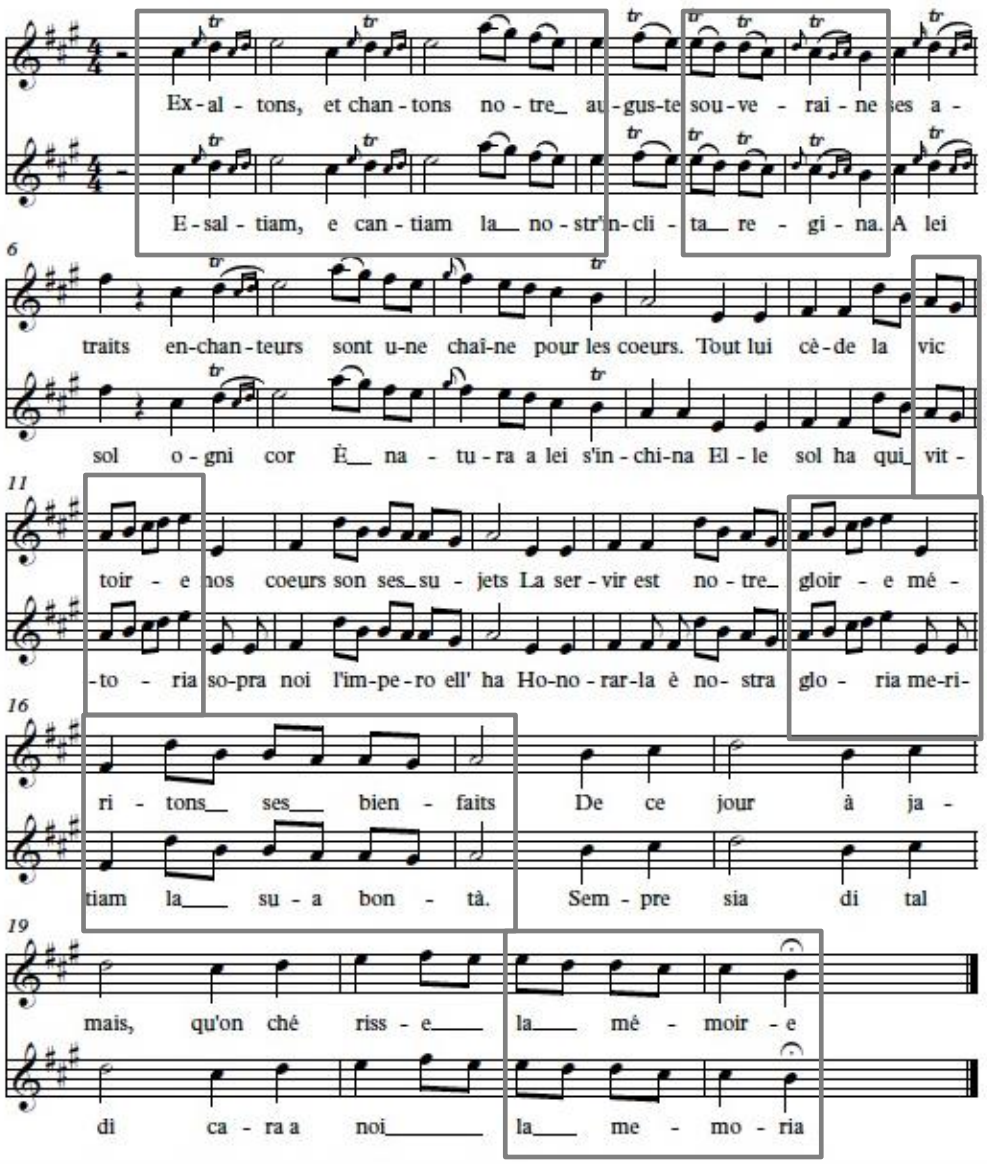


Figure 4: *La belle Arsène* Chorus Verse 2 in French and Italian

In the face of such irregular poetry, as well as Da Ponte's apology, which blames the music for these anomalies, the musical setting is important to analyze. In this case, however, no score exists with Italian text-underlay – no manuscript score of the London production is presently known, and no London publishers saw fit to publish this chorus separately. I have therefore reconstructed the probable setting using the published

French score and the analogous section of the published Italian libretto.[264] I set the Italian text to music using general practices of text-setting – paying attention to the natural contours of the musical phrases as well as the manner in which the Italian words would be most naturally spoken (which syllables would be emphasized and which would not). The music itself is in regular four-measure phrases, belying the irregularities in the poem. The chorus is written in cut time, or *alla breve* notation, which generally indicates a fast tempo. Every measure's first beat would receive the strongest emphasis, and the second strongest beat would be the second beat in each measure. Any notes between these two beats would be unaccented. Thus, in setting the Italian text to music, I took into account these rhythmic accents inherent in the music and lined them up with conventions of syllable stress in the Italian language. For example, in the opening line of the aria: "Esaltiam, e cantiam, nostr'inclita regina," the syllables "-iam," "-iam," "nos-," "in-," and "-gi-" are the stressed syllables, and could therefore accommodate strong musical accents.[265] These syllables are set on beats 1, 1, 2, 1, and 1 respectively. I was able to set the Italian text to the French score's musical notation without very many changes at all. The only exceptions are the ends of poetic lines in the Italian, which sometimes have an extra, unaccented syllable. Thus in order to accommodate the last two syllables of "s'inchina" the half-note on "cœurs" might have to be replaced with two quarter notes, the first accented, and the second unaccented. This follows the conventions of Italian prosody.

The Italian text underlay lines up with the French text underlay only at eight distinct moments in the chorus (four of these moments repeat more than once in the chorus). These pairs are "esaltiam"/"exaltons," "cantiam"/"cantons," "nostra"/"notre,"

[264] I have transcribed the chorus of nymphs from the French score as published.

[265] John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues* (London: Melch Bradwood, 1611), 171, 80, 334, 245, 427, http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/florio/.

“souveraine”/“regina,” “vittoria”/“victoire,” “gloria"/“gloire,” the full phrase “meritiam la sua bontà”/“méritons ses bienfaits,” and “la memoria”/“la memoire.” These are all key words and phrases in the chorus – the first line: “Let us exalt and sing to our queen,” the words “victory” and “glory” the sentiment towards the end that “we [her subjects] earn her kindness,” and the final word “memory.” This shows that Da Ponte was attentive to the French text and its relation to the music when he crafted his singable Italian translation. The words “victoire” and “gloire” in the French are set to triumphal ascending scales. Da Ponte realized the importance of that word/text relationship and orchestrated his text so that the synonyms (and cognates) “vittoria” and “gloria" would fall at these exact musical moments.

The process of lining up the Italian text to the pre-existing music may seem tedious – and it is. However, this work not only produces a result that can be analyzed as a substitute for the missing manuscript score; it is a recreation of Da Ponte’s own labor. Da Ponte’s skill as an original poet, his long years of studying Metestasio, were not necessary for this chorus. Instead, he was constructing a puzzle, using his knowledge of Latinate cognates and his feel for musical scansion to complete a required (and not desired) task. This would probably have frustrated the ambitious Da Ponte at the same time as it helped him keep his coveted job as the poet of the King’s Theatre.

La belle Arsène Reception in London newspapers

La belle Arsène premiered in London on December 12, 1795 as *La bella Arsene*. The review of the premiere, published two days later, was generally positive, despite the fact that, as announced, many “members of the Company” had not yet arrived from abroad. The entire singing cast seems to have been complete, and full of London’s favorite singers, so the performers indicated as missing were most likely dancers. The ballet

presented that night was "hackneyed," probably because less experienced performers than the ones due in from abroad were onstage. The main criticism in the review is the opera's origin:

> The new Piece brought forward upon this occasion is entitled, *La Bella Arsene*, the Dramatic part of which is taken from the French, and which is quite of the flimsy kind that might be expected from the People from whom it was derived.[266]

This jibe against the French, similar to comments written by critics of Linley's *Selima and Azor*, is not unexpected, due to the fact that England was effectively at war with France at the time. However, it is interesting to note that French origins only seemed to be a problem in terms of the libretto. According to the review, Monsigny only contributed the choruses to the production, and the rest of the music was provided by Joseph Mazzinghi. However, the French composer is given nothing but praise: "the Choruses were composed by Monsigny, one of the persons to whom the beautiful music of *The Deserter* has been attributed."[267] The missing dancers were, most likely, being imported from Paris, as most dancers were at the time. And, in fact, the review ends with a French phrase, albeit Anglicized: "The House at first was but badly attended, but towards the conclusion, there was a tolerably large Audience, among whom were the Prince of Wales, the Margrave and Margravine of Anspach, and a conservable *Corps* of *Fashionables*."[268]

After these initial reviews, the opera seems to have been viewed less as French than as Italian. On December 21, after only three performances of the opera in London, the Morning Post and Fashionable World declared that *La Belle Arsène* was "becoming the favourite of the Amateurs of Music" and that it was "one of the best Operas we have seen

---

[266] "The Opera." *True Briton*. December 14, 1795.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

on the Italian Theatre."[269] *La belle Arsène* reappeared on the London stage in February of 1796, complete with a new trio and a new aria for the character of Alcindor. The French dancers must have made it to London by this point, because a "Grand Pantomime Ballet" had also been added, called *Soliman II, or Les Trois Sultanes*. On March 10, another aria was added, this time for Madame Banti to sing.[270] The announcement states that it had been taken out of the opera for reasons of length but would be reinserted for this special performance for the benefit of Signor Rosselli, at which a large noble presence was expected.[271] This emphasis on the celebrity of Italian singers situated the opera comfortably in the social milieu of the King's Theatre.

Adapting the Music to *La belle Arsène*

La belle Arsène's text was not the only element of the opera that was modified for London. The music was adapted as well. Contemporary reviews attribute most of the music to Joseph Mazzinghi. Mazzinghi, despite his foreign surname, was not an immigrant himself. His father, a violinist and wine merchant, came to London from Corsica and married an Englishwoman.[272] Joseph was born in 1765 and studied organ with J.C. Bach from a very young age.[273] His first appointment was at the Portuguese Chapel – at the age of ten.[274] Not too long after, in 1779, he began working at the King's Theatre as an apprentice to Leopoldo De Michele, the theater's music copyist. Mazzinghi

---

[269] Morning Post and Fashionable World. December 21, 1795.

[270] Madame Banti was highly praised in the role of Arsène, although her brilliance dulled the performances of her co-stars in comparison, according to one reviewer. Richard Steifel, "Mozart's Seductions," *Current Musicology*, no. 36 (1983): 151–66.

[271] "King's Theatre." *True Briton*. March 10, 1796.

[272] Roger Fiske and Gabriella Dideriksen, "Mazzinghi, Joseph," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 23, 2014, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/18201. John Mazzinghi, listed as the translator for *La belle Arsène* was probably Joseph Mazzinghi's uncle.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid.

rose through the ranks at the King's Theatre, first as the harpsichordist, and then as the house composer.[275] He served in this role from 1786 until the theater was destroyed in 1789, at which point he began in the same role at the new Italian opera house, the Pantheon.[276] He wrote a lot of ballet music for these theaters, and also worked on adapting operas.[277] After 1791, Mazzinghi mostly worked on English-language opera. The thespian dictionary of 1802 asserted that "Mr. Mazzinghi furnishes the serious airs" at Covent Garden, while a colleague of his wrote the comic ones.[278]

Mazzinghi returned to Italian opera a few times, including from 1796 to 1797, and *La belle Arsène* was one of the operas he adapted during this period. [279] Mazzinghi's name is also associated with *Zémire et Azor*, but not the opera.[280] He adapted Grétry's music for a *ballet d'action* performed in 1787 at the King's Theatre.[281] *Zêmire et* Azor and *La belle Arsène* crop up together so many times throughout their performance history that a great many opera professionals could not help but work on both at one time or another. Mazzinghi was a partner of Goulding, D'Almaine, & Co., which explains the publisher's extensive, two-volume print of selections from *La belle Arsène*. The volume contains music by Mazzinghi, Monsigny, and Paisiello, but Mazzinghi's name is the only one represented in the volume's title pages. [282]

Joseph Mazzinghi's status as both English (by birth and upbringing) and Italian (by blood and musical training), made him an ideal member of the music staff of the King's

---

[275] Ibid.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Ibid.

[278] *The Thespian Dictionary* (London: J. Cundee, 1802).

[279] Fiske and Dideriksen, "Mazzinghi, Joseph."; Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 76.

[280] Fiske and Dideriksen, "Mazzinghi, Joseph."

[281] Ibid.

[282] P.H. Highfill, K.A. Burnim, and E.A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, A Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses, 1660-1800 Series, v. 10 (Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 160.

Theatre. He was experienced with the London public at large – both those who preferred to listen to music in a language they could understand and those who preferred the long-standing tradition of Italian-language opera. He knew how to make the new music fit in with the style of Monsigny's Italianate French music while still appealing to contemporary English tastes. He also enjoyed a relatively high social standing for a man of his profession; like Gluck, he was comfortable with royalty, and taught music to a future queen – in Mazzinghi's case the Princess of Wales (later Queen Caroline).[283]

Besides the music introduced by Mazzinghi, one of the arias added to the London production of *La belle Arsène* was culled from Paisiello's opera *Elfrida*. The full opera of *Elfrida* did not premiere in London until 1800, but its successful premiere in Naples in 1792 and its subsequent performances throughout Italy meant that the parts of it that were most popular were disseminated sooner. In addition, one aria sung in *La belle Arsène* by the character Alcindor was written by the singer who played the role in London, the castrato Agrippino Roselli. The part of Alcindor was originally written for the French singer Louis Michu, who had a high tenor voice but was not a castrato. It may have been that Roselli felt the need to adapt the role to fit his own unique vocal capabilities. *La belle Arsène* as it appeared in London, was therefore more of a pastiche than a through-composed opera. Although it had started as a complete work, painstakingly put together by Monsigny and Favart, it was adapted by the King's Theatre staff into an opera without a clear authorial voice, filled with contributions from many different participants.

As noted above, no full score exists for the London version of *La belle Arsène*. However, large portions of it, eleven vocal selections and a piano transcription of the

[283] Allatson Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical; in a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to His Daughter*. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814), 160.

overture, were published in the aforementioned two-volume release by Goulding around the time of the opera's London premiere. Most of these selections are for the arias and scenes sung by the characters Arsène and Alcindor. In the French opera, these two characters do not sing a duet until a short section in the midst of the opera's finale. This is a dramaturgical choice: the two characters are at odds, and although they spar in spoken dialogues, they refuse to listen to the needs of the other long enough to have a duet. They are not in harmony. Alcindor wants the proud Arsène to love him, and she wants to spurn him despite her growing feelings towards him. The London version adds two duets for the pair, "Abbracciami o sposo," the aforementioned borrowing from *Elfrida* with music by Paisiello, and "Nei sguardi ritrosi," with music by Mazzinghi.

"Nei sguardi ritrosi" appeared in the third scene of the opera's first act and helped to set up the relationship between Arsène and Alcindoro. Mazzinghi opposed their two viewpoints by having them begin the duet with each character singing a long solo section. When the two sing together at first, the parts are at odds, with Arsène singing what is effectively a descant over Alcindor's repetition of the opening melody. However, they soon fall into step, singing the same words in parallel thirds.[284] At the end of the duet conflict is reintroduced, but subtly – still singing in parallel thirds, Arsène sings "no" while Alcindor sings "sì," as they disagree on whether or not Arsène will change her feelings towards Alcindor.

[284] This duet is typical of the Mozartian seduction duet. Richard Steifel, "Mozart's Seductions," *Current Musicology*, no. 36 (1983): 151–66.

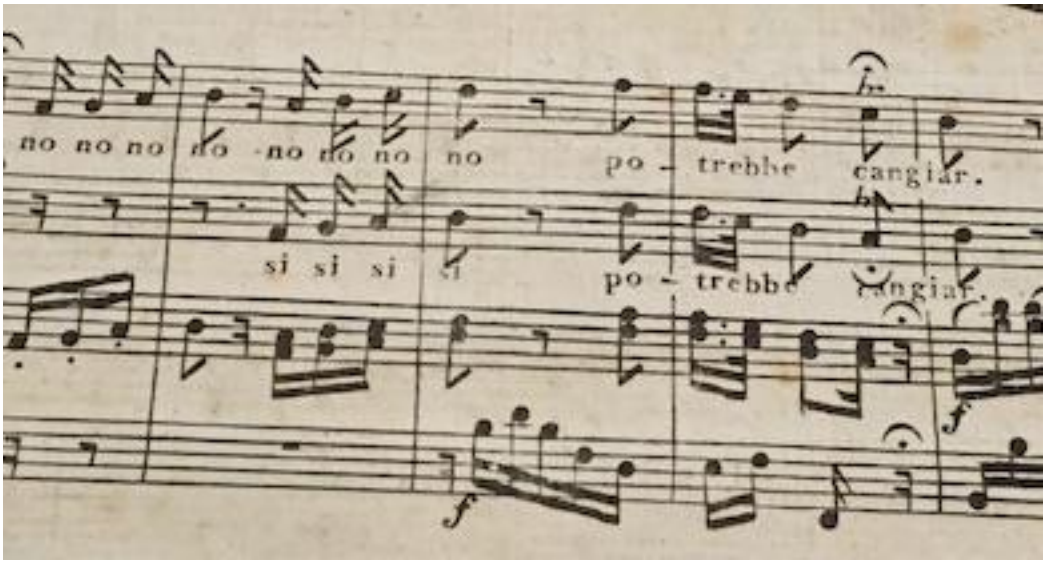


Figure 5: The End of "Nei sguardi ritrosi"

Productive Confusion

La belle Arsène and *Zémire et Azor* made the same journey from Paris to London, but in two different ways. *Zémire et Azor*, immediately popular in Paris, was soon transferred to Mannheim, where Mattia Verazi carefully translated it into Italian. Verazi made some modifications to make the opera fit into the repertoire of Mannheim's Italian opera company, but Grétry's music and Marmontel's libretto remained mostly intact. In this way, the opera journeyed on to London, where, again, with some slight modifications, it became successful in the repertoire of the King's Theatre, where it was performed for over a decade. *La belle Arsène*, which had a more complicated and painful birth in France, also traveled. It was translated into German, Danish, Dutch, and Swedish before landing in London where it would be performed at the King's Theatre in the same season as *Zémire et Azor*.[285] The poet of the theater, Lorenzo Da Ponte, translated the opera into Italian, struggling under the constraints of the French poetic and musical forms. Joseph Mazzinghi, also at the King's Theatre, was called on to modify

[285] Alfred Iacuzzi, *The European Vogue of Favart: The Difussion of the Opéra-Comique*, 1st AMS ed, Music and Theatre in France in the 17th and 18th Centuries (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 368–269.

the music, creating an opera that was unlike the French original. The resulting opera was a collaboration, however passive, across time and distance, between Monsigny, Favart, Mazzinghi, Da Ponte, Paisiello, Rosselli, and probably many others whose contributions were less well-preserved by the historical record.

Veracity in the *Memorie*

Now that we have traced the journeys of the two operas, it is time to return to Da Ponte's autobiographical writings, and specifically his conflation of the two operas. All modern biographies of Da Ponte admit that there is a general conception that *Memorie* does not give a complete and truthful account of the poet's life. Some scholars take quite a harsh view of the *Memorie*'s inability to be reconciled with the historical record. Fausto Nicolini, an editor of Da Ponte's *Memorie*, pulling no punches, calls the work "a jungle of lies, an apologia, coarse, badly strung together, unctuous, hypocritical, sentimental moralizing."[286] April Fitzlyon writes that "the *Memorie* are a very mediocre work," adding that it is "full of inaccuracies, omissions, and falsehoods."[287] The main issue she takes with the *Memorie*, however, is that they disappoint the modern reader through their omissions. Da Ponte met with Mozart, Metastasio, Gozzi, and Salieri, among many other important men of the age, and lived in many of the most important cosmopolitan centers in Europe. Why, Fitzlyon asks, did Da Ponte choose to selfishly focus on his own escapades and rivalries, misadventures and triumphs, rather than selflessly share with the world information about his more important contemporaries? Fitzlyon's perspective is clearly that of a frustrated twentieth-century scholar, and one wonders whether any of

[286] Cited in Sheila Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte the Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 245.

[287] FitzLyon, *The Libertine Librettist: A Biography of Mozart's Librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte.*, 255–257.

Da Ponte's contemporaries would have had the same complaints to make when *Memorie* was first published.

Some biographers have blamed the inaccuracies in Da Ponte's *Memorie* on the poet's more general aesthetics. Rodney Bolt writes, that "Lorenzo Da Ponte's *Memorie* abound with errors, both unintended and deliberate…."[288] He attributes these errors to several factors: Da Ponte's desire to give his life a romantic tint alla Casanova and Da Ponte's jaded outlook on the world in his old age. Aleramo Lanapoppi writes:

> Too many episodes were obviously invented, and too many facts contradict each other…Already from the first pages the reader is alarmed by the clear exaggerations…One doesn't know anymore if one has found oneself in front of an autobiography, a picaresque romance, or rather a series of elegant plots for possible opera libretti.[289]

Lanapoppi here implies that Da Ponte's fictional leanings, useful in his dramatic works, are what confuse his *Memorie*. Da Ponte does not know how to write in a style that is true to life, since his livelihood has depended on the creation of improbable story arcs and the extension of stock characters.

Others still find *Memorie* to be a masterpiece and Da Ponte its genius creator. Charles Rosen, in his preface to the most recent English translation, lumps the work in with the genre of autobiography on the whole, effectively absolving Da Ponte from all expectations of historical accuracy: "All autobiographers lie, by commission as well as omission. We do not read them for their accuracy but for their vivacity, and Lorenzo Da

---

[288] Bolt, *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*, xvi.

[289] Aleramo Lanapoppi, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: realtà e leggenda nella vita del librettista di Mozart* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1992), 355–356. Troppi episodi erano ovviamente inventati, e troppi dati si trovavano in contraddizione con altri….Fin dalle prime pagine il lettore si metteva in allarme di fronte alle manifeste esagerazioni… Non si sapeva più se ci si trovava di fronte a un'autobiografia, a un romanzo picaresco, o piuttosto a una serie di eleganti trame per possibili libretti d'opera."

Ponte is among the most vivacious."[290] The introduction to the same volume, by Arthur Livingston, is still more emphatically supportive of Da Ponte:

> Whatever Da Ponte may have been, he was not a liar. Despite the efforts to shake the veracity of his *Memorie*, they stand there as the engaging record of a soul's labored and painful passage through this world, and a substantially accurate account of what that soul experienced here.[291]

Sheila Hodges writes, in a similarly sympathetic vein, that Da Ponte "was not a cheat or a liar, and was hurt, bewildered, and outraged when he came across people who were, and who took advantage of his credulity."[292] She admits that "the accuracy of the memoirs cannot always be relied upon," due to the fallacy of human memory, but still claims that "in the main, where it is possible to verify [Da Ponte's] statements the memoirs reflect the truth."

I have proven that this is not the case with the material in *Memorie* about *Zémire et Azor*. Throughout this project, every anecdote related by Da Ponte in his *Memorie* that I have investigated in depth has never once told the complete truth as corroborated by other historical documents. This provable lack of accuracy has not stopped biographers, including the ones cited above as having been critical of the *Memorie*, from relying heavily on Da Ponte's writings and using them as the essential framework for their own accounts of his life. For example, most biographies of Da Ponte skip over the poet's account of his translation work in London, but Anthony Holden's biography parrots the *Memorie*, quoting almost the entire passage about Da Ponte's translation of *Zémire et Azor* without adding any commentary whatsoever, let alone providing evidence to challenge the veracity of the story.[293]

---

[290] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, x.

[291] Ibid., xxxi.

[292] Hodges, *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist*, xii–xiii.

[293] Anthony Holden, *The Man Who Wrote Mozart: The Extraordinary Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006).

For this dissertation, *Memorie* does not serve as a definitive account of historical events – there are too many discrepancies between Da Ponte's account and other documentation of the time. However, *Memorie* still serves as a useful, even integral tool for this project, following Anthony Pym's call to "humanize" translation studies.[294] *Memorie* is a window into Da Ponte's humanity – his individuality or peculiarity as a real person who lived his life. The realization that the Da Ponte who appears in *Memorie* is a projection of the man himself is likewise important, and this allows us to be critical of the particulars while productively reading between the lines. Da Ponte adapted his life to the genre of the memoir, adjusting the truth to create a more compelling narrative.

Da Ponte's Hierarchy of Translation

Da Ponte published *An Extract* in New York in 1819 when a review of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine neglected to identify Da Ponte as the opera's librettist. Da Ponte was righteously indignant, and decided to respond in print, recording his role in the creation and success of *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro*, and blaming his status as a forgotten contributor on the machinations of his enemies (as he often did in the *Memorie*). This time, however, his enemies are at fault for participating in or allowing acts of subpar translation. Da Ponte raves against the injustice done to his verses by an unnamed man who translated *Le nozze di Figaro* into an English version that was published alongside the Italian in the libretti provided for the opera's first London performance in 1812. It is not the case that Da Ponte thought all acts of translation were violations of the original work. He praises quite effusively the work of "a young gentleman whom [he] had the happines [*sic*] to instruct in the Italian

[294] Pym, "Humanizing Translation History." See the introduction of this dissertation for a more in-depth discussion of the trend in translation studies that moves the translators themselves to the center of research.

language," and compares the effect of such a sensitive translation to that of the "badly translated" version that was published[295]:

> Do you not believe, Mr. Editor, that if an Italian opera were translated in this style, an English audience would hear it with more pleasure? But at one time from ignorance, another from avarice, and not very seldom from malice, the words of a comic drama are so badly translated, and the translation gives such a low idea of the original, that the poet of the opera house and idiot were at a certain time synonymous among the learned of London. I am inclined to class the translation of *Figaro* among those which were badly translated through malice. [296]

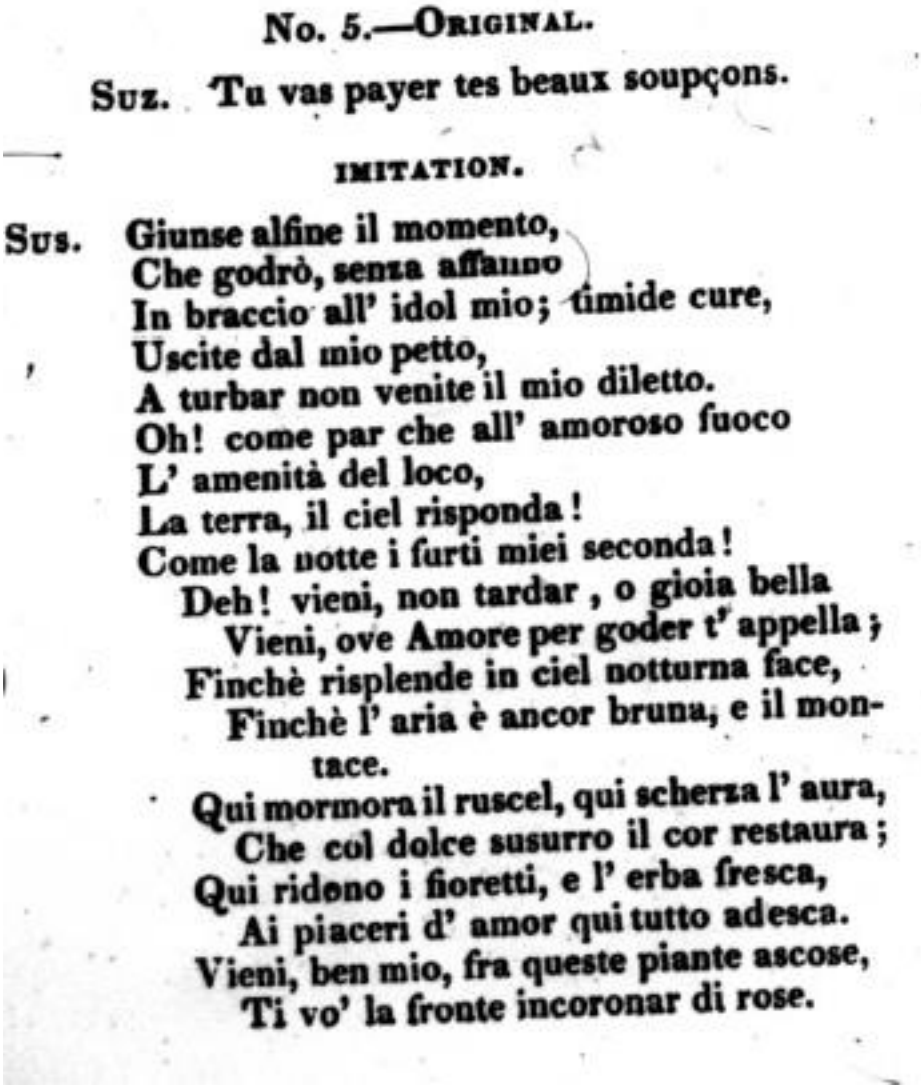
Da Ponte, who is well acquainted with what it means to translate an opera from one language into another language while keeping the target text's singability, is disgusted by the poor craftsmanship he observes in what he deems a lesser task: the translation of a singable Italian text into a readable but not singable English one.

The second large qualm Da Ponte has with *Le nozze di Figaro*'s London reception also has to do with translation -- the difference he perceives between translation and adaptation. Da Ponte never uses the term "adaptation" in "An Extract" but rather pokes holes in British critics' use of the word "transferring" and "alteration." He implies that stronger terms than "translation" and "alteration" need to be used to account for the large amount of creative work that he had put into *Le nozze di Figaro*. In transforming a French play by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais into an Italian opera, Da Ponte had done more than translate it. He adapted it significantly, carefully crafting it into a opera buffa libretto that would work with Mozart's music to delight a Viennese audience. To make his point abundantly clear, Da Ponte even includes an appendix showing lines from Beaumarchais' play paired with the Italian verse he constructed at the same

[295] Da Ponte never names the author of either translation. The translation he criticizes seems to be that of William Joseph Walter.

[296] Lorenzo Da Ponte, *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte* (New York: Lorenzo Da Ponte, 1819), 23.

moment in the drama.[297] Perhaps most telling is the single, simple line of text that Suzanne says in the Beaumarchais ("Tu vas payer tes beaux soupçons."), followed by Da Ponte's sarcastically titled "Imitazione." This Italian "Imitation" of Beaumarchais's one line is none other than the full text of Susanna's beautiful recitative and aria "Giunse al fin il momento…Deh vieni non tardar."[298]



No. 5.—ORIGINAL.

SUZ. Tu vas payer tes beaux soupçons.

IMITATION.

SUS. Giunse alfine il momento,
Che godrò, senza affanno
In braccio all' idol mio; timide cure,
Uscite dal mio petto,
A turbar non venite il mio diletto.
Oh! come par che all' amoroso fuoco
L' amenità del loco,
La terra, il ciel risponda!
Come la notte i furti miei seconda!
Deh! vieni, non tardar, o gioia bella
Vieni, ove Amore per goder t' appella;
Finchè risplende in ciel notturna face,
Finchè l' aria è ancor bruna, e il monte.
Qui mormora il ruscel, qui scherza l' aura,
Che col dolce susurro il cor restaura;
Qui ridono i fioretti, e l' erba fresca,
Ai piaceri d' amor qui tutto adesca.
Vieni, ben mio, fra queste piante ascose,
Ti vo' la fronte incoronar di rose.

Figure 6: Da Ponte's "Imitation" of Beaumarchais

[297] Ibid., 41–46.

[298] Ibid., 46.

Da Ponte's anecdote about his own translation work in London comes in the form of a footnote in the middle of this discussion of *Figaro* and adaptation. Da Ponte first contextualizes the example, saying, "This little anecdote will give an idea of the difficulties to be met with in transferring a drama from the French to the Italian stage."[299] This footnote, which details Da Ponte's last-minute feat of translation, is intended to pose a contrast. To Da Ponte, an example of a "transfer" is a direct translation of a French opera into an Italian opera, commissioned by the King's Theatre. He sees his unique and inspired use of a French play as source material for the Italian opera *Le nozze di Figaro* as something more. Thus, although *An Extract*'s short account of Da Ponte's translation work for London is self-laudatory – Da Ponte appears as a hero able to quickly translate a French opera into Italian when two other poets cannot – it also casts this translation project as a far inferior commission to Da Ponte's other work as a poet and librettist. Da Ponte emphasizes the straightforward nature of this project as one that discourages creativity: "There was no dialogue to be curtailed, no dramatis personae to be rejected, no air to be introduced, no plan to be changed."[300] In fact, in the expanded version of this anecdote in the *Memorie*, Da Ponte capitalizes on the fact that this task is far below his skill-set, recalling that he demanded to be paid thirty guineas more than the original commission fee, and that the translation only took him forty-eight hours to accomplish whereas the other poets could not complete even one scene in close to three weeks of effort.[301]

To summarize, in his two accounts, Da Ponte makes clear a hierarchy of poetic work for the theater, prizing originality and creativity far above more utilitarian types of "transfer" such as literal translations. However, he does not discount the intellectual skill

[299] Ibid., 25.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Da Ponte, *Memorie. Libretti mozartiani*, 193.

and theatrical experience required to complete even these less-prestigious types of adaptations, especially when he factors in the musical constraints germane to the operatic genre. These two accounts, together with Da Ponte's writings on his adaptation practices, present a unified idea of Da Ponte's poetics of translation and adaptation.

The highest rung in Da Ponte's hierarchy would be authorship from scratch – meaning that the basis for the opera would have to be entirely original. One step down would be the adaptation of a preexisting idea into another art form, genre, or with other kinds of major alterations. The third rung down would be the adaptation or translation of a preexisting piece with alterations made to fit new audiences or circumstances. The next step down would be entirely utilitarian translation: a simple transfer of material from one language to another in an attempt to preserve the original as much as possible. The lowest rung is minor changes. I have diagrammed this hierarchy in Figure 7 with examples of operas related to Da Ponte that would best fit each level.

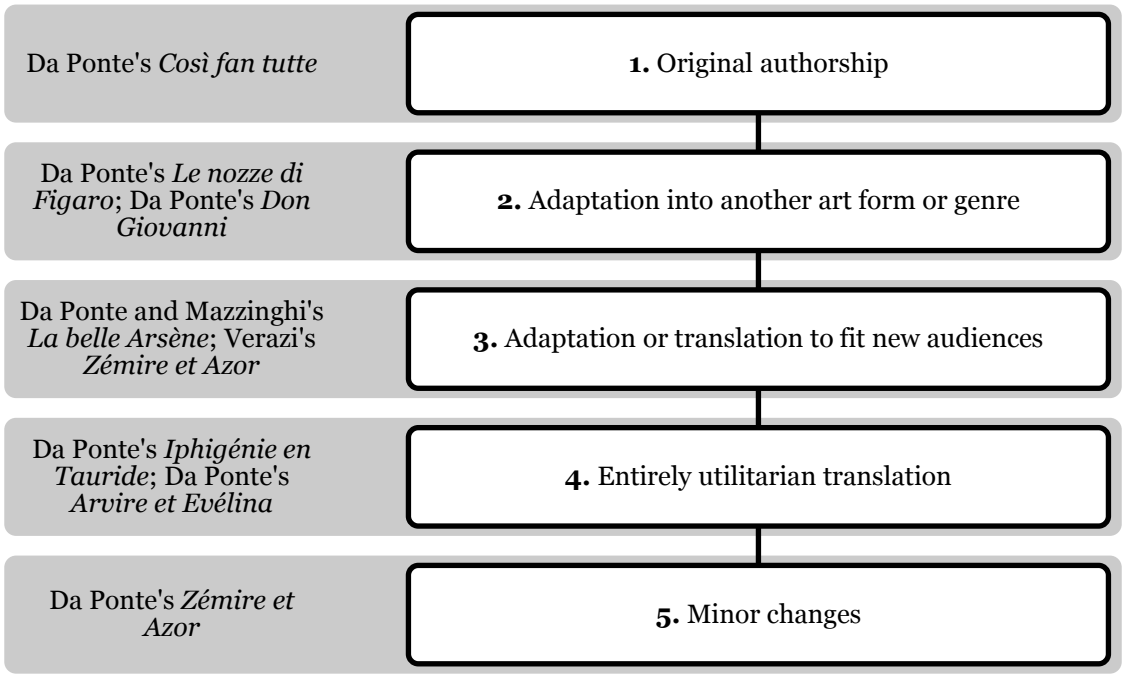


Figure 7: Da Ponte's Hierarchy of Adaptation and Translation

Da Ponte had little to do with the 1796 performance of *Zémire et Azor* at the King's Theatre, so I have placed it in the bottom rung of the hierarchy (5) even though he would have placed it in rung 3, since he claimed in his *Memorie* to have written the translation. As stated above, this task was actually completed by Mattia Verazi, who tried very hard to create a beautiful final product for Mannheim audiences even though he felt constrained by having to keep Grétry's original music intact. Da Ponte felt similarly about adapting *La belle Arsène* to the London stage. He struggled with the sometimes-awkward French poetry and the music by Monsigny. Although he and Mazzinghi changed the original French opera considerably, shuffling scenes and adding new musical numbers, enough remained the same that neither felt a real sense of ownership over the finished product. Da Ponte's treatment of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, as related in Chapter 1, was more straightforward. He diverged little from the French original while translating it into Italian for Vienna, and it did not change much more when it arrived in London. With the opera *Arvire et Évélina*, which the next chapter will explore, he took a similar approach, mostly translating passages word for word, and using cognates shared between French and Italian as much as possible. This is quite different from the attitude Da Ponte had towards his work on *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*. Neither opera was original – Beaumarchais's drama *Le Mariage de* Figaro was the basis for the former, and Da Ponte borrowed quite heavily from a preexisting opera, Giuseppe Gazzaniga and Giovanni Bertati's *Don Giovanni* (1787), for the latter. However, the changes that Da Ponte made, reshaping characters, streamlining the plots, and asserting his own poetic voice into everything from snippets of recitative to long, multi-part arias, made him feel like he owned the finished products. Da Ponte would never have written a rebuttal of a review that refused to acknowledge his translation work on any of the operas that form

the case studies of this dissertation. However, he felt justified in his strong objections to the Edinburgh reviewer's claims that *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro* were not his.

Epilogue

Da Ponte's confusion of *La belle Arsène* and *Zémire et Azor* in his autobiographical writings is understandable given the similarities between the two operas, their almost simultaneous entrance into his life, and the overlap among the artists involved. However, it is also possible that the switch from *La belle Arsène* as an example of Da Ponte's translation work in *An Extract* to *Zémire et Azor* in *Memorie* was not a mere slip of the pen nor the result of a foggy memory, but rather a purposeful rewriting of history. Da Ponte wrote *An Extract* in defense of his professional honor and to ensure that his legacy lived on in Europe as well as in the United States. A quick account of whether one opera title would have sparked more recognition in the United States than the other is therefore pertinent.

Travel between America and cosmopolitan centers in Europe such as Paris and London grew more common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, making it possible for individuals to arrive in America having seen French opera first-hand. For example, in 1784, Thomas Jefferson saw *Zémire et Azor* at the Théâtre Italiens in Paris.[302] The music itself also traveled across the ocean. In 1789, a program of selections from *Zémire et Azor* was performed in Baltimore, and the aria "Le Malheur me rend intrépide" was sung in Philadelphia. [303] Between 1790 and 1800, *Zémire et Azor* was performed in full in New Orleans, where a French company had taken up residence.[304]

---

[302] K.J. Hayes, *The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 285, https://books.google.com/books?id=9eDQCwAAQBAJ.

[303] O.G.T. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 45, 135.

[304] H.C. Lahee, *Annals of Music in America: A Chronological Record of Significant Musical Events, from 1640 to the Present Day, with Comments on the Various Periods Into Which the Work Is Divided*, Annals of

Various arias from *La belle Arsène* were performed in America from time to time, but as a whole it was not as well-known as *Zémire et Azor*. Da Ponte's citation of the better-known opera in his *Memorie*, which was a much longer, better-planned and more widely-distributed work than *An Extract*, would have impressed his readers much more than a citation of *La belle Arsène* would have done.

Da Ponte's scramble for acclaim from the time he was old enough to learn languages and literatures until his death as an old man speaks to the uncomfortable place he held in the society of the time. In an age in which original authorship was acclaimed but attributions were rarely accurate, in which translation was essential but translators were undervalued, Da Ponte needed to cling to what he had. In his writings, Da Ponte claimed authorship of original poetic works, extolled the hard work of creative adaptation, and even mentioned the hard and thankless task of utilitarian translation. It was beneath him: he couldn't bother to remember which opera(s) he had worked on, but it was difficult, and he was superior at it.

Music in America: A Chronological Record of Significant Musical Events, from 1640 to the Present Day, with Comments on the Various Periods Into Which the Work Is Divided (Marshall Jones Company, 1922), 226, https://books.google.com/books?id=h88VbzAGZ80C.

CHAPTER 3:
Cosmopolitanism on a Circular Route: British Patriotism Sung in the Italian Style

The late eighteenth century in London was a time of connection and of isolation, with cosmopolitan and nationalist sentiments coexisting freely in politics and in the arts. The French Revolution threw the city into patriotic overdrive, causing British citizens to emphasize their deep connection to the monarchy and to distance themselves from the misbehaving French. At the same time, however, foreign art, especially Italian opera, thrived. This chapter interrogates larger issues of nationalism and patriotism at stake in the question of Italian opera's residency in London in the 1790s, shedding light on the role that opera had there as a site of cultural translation. The first part of this chapter traces the journey of *Caractacus,* a 1759 British poem by William Mason based on the life of a 1st-century British monarch, from print, to the stage of Covent Garden, through a French translation and adaptation into a French *tragédie-lyrique* in 1788, and then back to London in 1797, where it did not revert to its original text, as might have been expected, but rather was presented as an Italian-language opera at the King's Theatre. In tracing this material's circulation starting and ending in London, I show how much of the popularity of the Italian *Arvire et Évélina* in London can be attributed to its British subject matter and its conformance to the tastes of British audiences. The chapter's second half addresses another important set of performances by the soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti,[305] who premiered the role of the British princess Évélina in the King's

[305] Brigida Giorgi Banti was born around 1755, most likely in the province of Piacenza. She began her cosmopolitan adventures throughout Europe with her onstage debut in Paris in 1778, after which she traveled to Amsterdam, London, Vienna, Venice, Warsaw, and Madrid, before returning to London for a longer stay in 1794. During her second sojourn in London, her connection to the city became more permanent. She made her home onstage as the prima donna of the King's Theatre, where she sang exclusively until she retired from performance in 1802. She died four years later and is buried in Bologna.

Theatre production as well as the prima donna roles in the three other operas explored in this dissertation. In 1794, four years before her performance as Évélina, Banti became famous for her performances of the British patriotic songs "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia," which she also sang on the stage of the King's Theatre. I utilize the concept of "ghosting" from theater studies to demonstrate that Banti's performances in *Arvire et Évélina* cannot be divorced from her status as a patriotic figure in London from 1794 onward. Banti's performances of patriotic songs and of the role in Évélina must both be read in the context of the budding British nationalism and European cosmopolitanism of the time. Analysis of historical and musical primary sources and methodologies borrowed from linguistics and comparative literature allows for a thorough exploration of the factors involved in the transformation of an Italian immigrant to London into a publicly sanctioned celebrant of British victory through song.

Arvire et Évélina

From London to Paris

The source material for *Arvire et Évélina* was doubly British; it was written and published in England, and it was also based on an episode in British history. The title character of Mason's poem *Caractacus* was a historical figure, also known as Caratacus

---

See Bruce Carr, "Banti, Brigida Giorgi," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 23, 2014, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/01964; Roberto Staccioli, "Giorgi, Brigida," *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/brigida-giorgi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. In addition, Mario Giuseppe Genesi has written several articles on various episodes in Banti's life. See Mario Giuseppe Genesi, "Il Soprano Piacentino Brigida Banti-Giorgi:exordia a Londra E Parigi," *Archivio Storico Parmense* LXV (2013): 329–75; Mario Giuseppe Genesi, "Nuove testimonianze sul soprano monticellese Giorgi-Banti," *Archivio Storico Parmense* LVII (2005): 361–405; Mario Giuseppe Genesi, "La Soprano Monticellese Brigida G. Banti Protagonista a Londra Della Vittoria Dell'ammiraglio Howe a Lizard Point," *Strenna Piacentina* XII, no. III (1992): 156–65; Genesi, "'... E non m'invola a sì rea fatalità': il repertorio di una soprano d'opera seria Accademia Filarmonica 'ad honorem' Maria Brigida Giorgi-Banti di Monticelli d'Ongina."

or Caradoc, who had ruled over parts of southern Britain in the 1st century C.E.[306] Set mostly in a Druid enclave, the poem dealt with themes of war and peace, treachery and fidelity in the context of the conflict between the British and the Romans. Although the 1759 publication of *Caractacus*[307] was a poem not intended for a staged performance,[308] Mason still provided indications as to what correct soundings of the text might be.

The poem was printed in the format of a play, complete with a list of "persons of the drama." After the entry "CHORUS, of DRUIDS and BARDS," a note reading "the dramatic part of the Chorus is supposed to be chiefly spoken by the principal Druid; the Lyrical part sung by the Bards"[309] shows that Mason called on the imaginations of his readers to distinguish between sung and spoken texts in their encounter with the written word. This is compatible with literary scholar Paula Backscheider's summary of reading culture during the eighteenth century: "Reading aloud was a major social and domestic activity. Because books were both scarce and expensive, all classes invited friends to their homes to hear a new book."[310] *Caractacus* was therefore, in all likelihood, read aloud in private settings.

However, in editions of *Caractacus* as poem, of which there were three in its first two years of its existence alone,[311] there are no indications as to how exactly the lyric parts were to be sung, and certainly no musical notation was printed. Although there is no

---

[306] "Caratacus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, accessed November 23, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Caratacus.

[307] William Mason, *Caractacus, a Dramatic Poem: Written on the Model of the Ancient Greek Tragedy*. (London: J. Knapton, 1759).

[308] The fact that the first published version of *Caractacus* was not meant to be peformed is made clear by the fact that it was later "adapted to theatrical representation." This adaptation would not have been necessary if the dramatic poem had been meant for performance.

[309] Ibid., viii.

[310] Paula R Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

[311] The first two editions were published in 1759, and the third was published in 1760, all in London. It was also published in Dublin in 1759. In the next decades, it was often republished in collections of Mason's poetry, for example, William Mason, *Poems by William Mason, M.A.* (York: A. Ward, 1771).

record for how the singable parts of *Caractacus* would have been interpreted in private gatherings, it is important to note that even in its first published incarnation as a poem, *Caractacus* had a potential for audible musical performance.

This potential was transformed into a reality seventeen years after the poem's first publication. A dramatic poem that Mason had written before *Caractacus*, called *Elfrida*, had been premiered in a dramatic adaptation by George Colman in 1772, and Mason soon decided to try his hand at adapting *Caractacus* for the stage.[312] The new *Caractacus,* billed as a dramatic poem "adapted to theatrical representation," premiered as a play at Covent Garden on December 6, 1776.[313]

In order to adapt from dramatic poem to a play, it was necessary that the sounds in the poem, which had previously been relegated to the imaginations and improvised performances of its readers, be made audible in a standard, repeatable manner. Mason found this task to be the most difficult part of the process of adapting *Caractacus* for the stage. According to Count Francesco Algarotti,[314] a Venetian intellectual who had become part of London's literary circles and one of Mason's correspondents, Mason had "an insurmountable difficulty in mounting his *Caractacus* on stage because of the abundance of choruses that needed to be accompanied by music, which, in his day, he did not believe capable of worthily accompanying grave and dignified poetry."[315] Thomas Arne, the foremost theater composer of the day, was hired to provide music for the play.

---

[312] William Mason, *Poems by William Mason, M.A.* (York: A. Ward, 1771).

[313] William Mason, *Caractacus, a Dramatic Poem…now Altered for Theatrical Representation* (York: A. Ward, 1777).

[314] Algarotti is famous in musical circles for his *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (1755), which criticized opera in Italian theaters in favor of opera in Northern Europe, which featured libretti that were more poetically unified than those of Metastasio, for example. Daniel Heartz, "Algarotti, Francesco," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed December 5, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/00558.

[315] "Una difficoltà insormontabile a potersi mettere il suo Carattaco sulle scene per l'abbondanza dei cori che di necessità esigono di essere accompagnati della musica, la quale a' suoi tempi non la credevi egli capace di rivertire degnamente una poesia grave e dignitosa." Quoted in Sonneck, "'Caractacus' Not Arne's Caractacus," 302–303.

He wrote music for the singing roles of the Druid Modred as well as for the instrumental interludes for the Covent Garden premiere of *Caractacus*.[316]

Caractacus, now a play with musical elements began to circulate beyond England as well, and it was published in an anonymous French translation in 1785.[317] It was probably this version that reached the eyes of the poet Nicolas-François Guillard, who crafted a French libretto based on Mason's play, to be set to music by Antonio Sacchini. Guillard and Sacchini's adaption, a three-act *tragédie-lyrique*, was titled *Arvire et Évélina*, and it premiered at the Parisian Théatre de l'Académie-Royale de Musique on April 29, 1788.

The opera's popularity, or its lack thereof, at its French premiere was partially due to the identity of its composer. Sacchini was born in Florence in 1730, but, like many of the figures in this dissertation, he spent much of his life traveling all over Europe as a quintessentially cosmopolitan artist. His journey took him first to Naples, at the age of four, where he entered the Conservatorio Santa Maria di Loreto six years later.[318] Sacchini left Naples in 1761, at which point he became peripatetic.[319] He traveled first to Venice, Padua, and Rome before he left Italian-speaking lands for Munich and Stuttgart. He returned to Venice before travelling on to London in 1772, where he wrote for the King's Theatre. Sacchini's London stay was cut short in 1781, when fear of imprisonment in a copyright scandal led him to flee to Paris, where he spent the final period of his

---

[316] Although a musical score for *Caractacus* is extant, Oscar Sonneck argued in 1911 that this score, which he dates to 1794, was not by Arne but rather by a relatively unknown church organist. Arne's autograph score was probably reduced to ashes in the fire of 1808 at Covent Garden, so Sonneck's argument cannot definitively be either proven or disproven. Sonneck, "'Caractacus' Not Arne's Caractacus."

[317] William Mason, *Caractacus, Tragédie En Cinq Actes* (Paris: Vve Ballard et fils, 1785).

[318] David DiChiera and Joyce Johnson Robinson, "Sacchini, Antonio," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed July 13, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/24251.

[319] Because of Sacchini's long stay in Naples, many eighteenth-century sources, including attributions in printed libretti, label him a Neapolitan composer. See, for example, a 1773 London libretto for *Il Cid*, which attributes the music to "Signor Antonio Sacchini, a Neapolitan composer." Gualberto Bottarelli and Antonio Sacchini, *Il Cid* (London: W. Griffin, 1773).

life.[320] Sacchini's time in London overlapped with the period during which Mason's *Caractacus* was first performed at Covent Garden. The composer therefore had ample opportunity to see the play live in English before its text made its way to Paris in French in 1785.[321]

While in Paris, Sacchini found himself caught in the middle of a debate between the relative merits of Italian and French operatic styles. This debate had begun in 1752 with the *querelle des bouffons*, "a battle over the whole French cultural tradition and direction."[322] The *querelle* was sparked by Rousseau's assertion that the French music had "neither rhythm nor melody…because the [French] language is not susceptible to them."[323] According to Rousseau, Italian music and the Italian language did not have these same deficiencies. The *querelle* therefore not only pitted Italian music and French music against each other, but also all of the related features of the two cultures, most importantly their languages, politics, and religions. In the 1770s, when Gluck modified

[320] DiChiera and Robinson, "Sacchini, Antonio."

[321] There is surprisingly little recent literature written specifically about Antonio Sacchini. A few French scholars wrote about him in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For examples of this scholarship, see Franz de Villars, "Oedipe à Colone et Sacchini," *L'art Musical*, October 15, 1863; Adolphe Jullien, *La Cour et L'opéra Sous Louis XVI: Marie-Antoinette et Sacchini, Salieri, Favart et Gluck* (Paris: Didier, 1878); Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Un Musicien Napolitain à La Cour de Louis XVI: Les Dernières Années de Gasparo Sacchini," *Le Ménestrel* 11 (December 1925); Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "L'héritage di Sacchini," *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 1908, 23–41. In the 1950s, Italian scholar Ulisse Prota-Giurleo began to address Sacchini, especially in regard to his time in Naples: Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *Sacchini Non Nacque a Pozzuoli* (Naples, 1952); Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *Sacchini a Napoli* (Naples, 1956).; two dissertations addressed Sacchini in the 1970s: Julian Rushton, "Music and Drama at the Académie Royale de Musique (Paris) 1774-1789" (Ph.D., Oxford Univ., 1969); Eldred Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cincinnati, 1974). Otherwise, see encyclopaedia articles such as DiChiera and Robinson, "Sacchini, Antonio." For discussions of Sacchini's time in London specifically, see: Price et al., *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*; William C. Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London, 1789-1820: A Record of Performances and Players, with Reports from the Journals of the Time* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1955); Frederick C. Petty, *Italian Opera in London, 1760-1800*, Studies in Musicology, no. 16 (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1980).

[322] The *querelle des bouffons* (1752-1754) was a war of words, circulated in pamphlets. See Isherwood, "Nationalism and the Querelle Des Bouffons," 323. I also discuss the *querelle* in the context of Gluck on pages 30-31.

[323] Quoted in Ibid., 324.

the traditional form of *tragédie en musique*, this newly ignited the debate, pitting Gluck against the Italian composer Piccinni who was also active in Paris at the same time.

Like Gluck before him, Sacchini struck a balance between the two sides of the debate with the music he wrote for Paris. As David DiChiera and Joyce Johnson Robinson wrote of *Oedipe à Colone*, Sacchini's penultimate work, "Sacchini admirably achieved a synthesis of Italian melodic style and Gluckian principles within a French dramatic framework."[324] Perhaps because of his cosmopolitan approach to musical composition, Sacchini became a personal favorite of Queen Marie-Antoinette, who paid him handsomely for his operatic output in Paris and asked to hear excerpts from *Arvire et Évélina* during a private audience with the composer.[325] However, Marie-Antoinette's subjects criticized her love for Sacchini and his music.[326] Sacchini was a foreigner in the eyes of the Queen's people. Audiences demanded French opera. It was not enough for operas to be sung in French; the music also needed to sound French.[327] Although during the *querelle des bouffons* and subsequent debates between Gluckists and Piccinnists there were certain musical characteristics identified as being French rather than Italian, Sacchini's music for *Arvire et Évélina* seems to meet these standards. Sacchini made good use of the chorus, and although he wrote melodious tunes, he also cared a good deal about harmony as well.[328] Here, then, *sounding* French was in some respects not a musical criterion, but rather a stand-in for *being* French, either in origin or sensibility.

---

[324] DiChiera and Robinson, "Sacchini, Antonio."

[325] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 43.

[326] In a 1789 pamphlet dedicated to the Queen, entitled "Les fantoccini francais, ou le grands comédiens de Marly," the Viennese Marie-Antoinette is refigured as Italian. This is a criticism of the Queen's preference for Italian-style opera. Cited in Julia Doe, "The Comedians of the Queen." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Louisville, KY, November 2015.

[327] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 53.

[328] DiChiera and Robinson, "Sacchini, Antonio."

This case is quite different, if not diametrically opposed, to the case of the King's Theatre, which valued foreign language and music on its stage far above native works.

The French audience's predilection for French composers is evidenced in the history of *Arvire et Évélina*'s completion. When Sacchini died before he was able to complete the opera's score, rumor had it that Marie-Antoinette herself chose the famous Italian composer Piccinni to finish his compatriot's opera. However, the French-born conductor of the Paris orchestra, Jean Baptiste Rey, objected, claiming that he, and not Piccinni, was the person Sacchini had personally asked to complete the opera.[329] Marie-Antoinette eventually capitulated. In fact, the opera was completed mainly with music by Sacchini, which Rey culled from other of the composer's works to fill the holes in five incomplete scenes in the opera's final act.[330]

The basic plot of *Arvire et Évélina* involves a father and daughter, the two eponymous characters, cloistered in a Druid enclave. They are in hiding from the Romans, who have taken from Arvire both his British throne and his royal wife. Unbeknownst to the two or their Druid protectors, the Romans have found them and have them surrounded. The Roman commander, Messala, sends two brothers, Vellinus and Irvin, also originally British, into the Druid holy place as spies to seek out Arvire. Vellinus is committed to the task, while Irvin is wary. He does not want to betray the king, but he also does not want to expose his own brother as a traitor. When the two brothers arrive and give Arvire (false) news about the safety and wellbeing of his wife, Arvire welcomes them, but Évélina is suspicious. She questions Irvin until he admits the plot, pledging loyalty to Arvire and Évélina under the condition that his brother is left unharmed. His brother, meanwhile, has run off to rejoin the Romans, and eventually

[329] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 34.

[330] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas", 54; *L'Esprit Des Journaux, François et Étrangers*, vol. VI (Paris: Chez Valade, 1788).

succeeds in capturing Évélina. A battle between the British and the Romans ensues. The British win, and Vellinus has a change of heart and releases Évélina. A truce between Arvire and Rome ensues, Messala agrees to reunite Arvire with his wife, and Arvire offers Évélina to Irvin in marriage.[331]

In the preface to his libretto, Guillard tells his Paris audience that the material is not new, admitting, "William Mason…treated this subject in London," and praising Mason's *Caractacus* for the "new genre" it had presented onstage. [332] Although in the rest of the preface Guillard writes mostly about the ways in which his French libretto diverges from Mason's poem,[333] a close examination of Guillard's libretto reveals that the entire structure of the French opera relies heavily on the English play. Nearly all of the plot points are the same and take place in the same order, and although no line in the French libretto is lifted verbatim from the French translation of the play, it is clear that Guillard consulted the play, line by line, as he crafted his libretto. For example, in Act I Scene III of Mason's play, in the French translation, Vellinus's line in the opera ("Mona fut-elle plus sacrée/Que la voûte des Cieux…" or "Mona was more sacred than the vaults of the heavens"[334]) is almost identical to his line in the French translation of the play ("Fussent les plaines de Mona plus saintes que celles des cieux…" or "The plains of Mona were more saintly than those of the heavens"),[335] with only flipped syntax and slight

[331] Nicolas Francois Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes* (Paris: P. de Lormel, 1788).

[332] Ibid.

[333] Julian Rushton follows Guillard's lead, saying that "Mason's drama was freely adapted as a French opera." Julian Rushton, "Musicking Caractacus," in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 221–42.

[334] Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, 15.

[335] Mason, *Caractacus, Tragédie En Cinq Actes*, 25.

substitutions in vocabulary differentiating the two.[336] There are many examples of similar parallels between the play and the libretto.[337]

The opera as a whole is not a direct translation of the play, however. Guillard departs from his source material in three major ways, all of which he lists in his preface. Firstly, in Mason's play, the British princess Évélina has a brother named Arviragus, who is thought to be missing and is dismissed by other characters as a coward. He later enters the play and proves his valor by dying a heroic and bloody death onstage.[338] This character is completely absent in the French libretto. Guillard explained his choice to excise the character in his preface, saying that Arviragus, as he appeared in Mason's play, was an ineffective character that only served to confuse the plot. In Guillard's opinion, complex structures in operas were to be avoided at all costs. As he pithily wrote in the same libretto preface, the plot "cannot ever be too simple in a piece destined to be put to music."[339] Thus, Arviragus is cut, and the French opera libretto diverges from the play script whenever mention to Arviragus is made. Although Guillard was correct in his assertion that Arviragus is extractable, Guillard's deletion of the tragic death the character suffers in Mason's original significantly lightens the opera's mood.

---

[336] Ibid. Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, 15. The one word change that could be seen as significant is the change from "sacrée" or "sacred" to " saintes" or "sainted." The latter has a Christian connotation that the latter does not. Guillard's transformation of a neutral word into one with a Christian connotation is reminiscent of his addition of Christian elements to Euripedes in the case of *Iphigénie en Tauride*.

[337] In a slightly longer passage, the speech that Évélina's father makes just before her first entrance, it is still clear that the librettist was constantly consulting the play, although the transformation is less straightforward. The passage in the French translation of the play reads: "J'avois une épouse….pardonnez ma foiblesse? Ce cœur indomptable ose pousser un soupir…Malheureuse Princesse! Héals! [sic] je n'ai put e vanger. O Druïde! crois-tu que mon cœur puisse goûter cetter paix que tu me vantes? – Ah, ma chere Evelina! essuye tes larmes, n'en mouille pas le bras, qui n'a pu sauver ta mere." Mason, *Caractacus, Tragédie En Cinq Actes*, 16. The corresponding passage in the libretto is: "Mon épouse…ah! c'est-là ma plus sensible injure,/Les Romains à mes yeux ont osé la ravir,/Et mes laches soldats n'ont pu la secourir./O fille malheureuse & chere, Tu portes seule, hélas! le poids de ma misère; Ma foiblesse & mon âge ont causé tes malheurs,/Ce bras, ce foible bras n'a pu sauver ta mere." Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, 11.

[338] In the Mason play, the character that Arvire is based on is named Caractacus. Thus, the name Arviragus does not cause any confusion.

[339] "ne peut jamais être trop simple dans une Piece destinée à être mise en musique." Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*.

The end of Guillard's libretto also brightens Mason's tragedy. At the end of the English poem and play, Évélina and her father are dejected, having been taken captive by the Romans along with the young soldier Irvinus. Caractacus offers Évélina to Irvinus as a wife in thanks for his loyalty to Caractacus, but it is unclear whether this potential marriage will result in a happy outcome, since all three of them are prisoners. In the French opera at this same point, the tide of battle turns against Rome, and the British, led by Évélina and her father, are victorious. In this happier context, the suggestion that Évélina and Irvinus will marry points towards conventions of neoclassical comedies to end in a marriage.[340] This might seem to go against *Arvire et Évélina*'s billing as a *tragédie-lyriqu*e, since "tragedy" in its usual usage implies an unhappy ending. However, French *tragédies-lyriques* tended to steer clear of truly disturbing or violent conclusions. As musicologist Anselm Gerhard explains, "Under a system in which catharsis, the tragic ending, [and] historico-political subject matter…were the preserve of spoken drama, tragédie lyrique was necessarily confined to the task of bewitching audiences with fabulous subjects, and having recourse to a deus ex machine if dramatic probability prevented the obligatory happy ending by any other means."[341] Thus, Guillard's lightening of *Caractacus*'s mood fits *Arvire et Évélina* more squarely within the genre conventions of *tragedies-lyriques*.

The other change Guillard made to Mason's play is not related to the plot, and on the surface it seems to be a matter of pure aural aesthetics: Guillard changed the names of some of the play's characters for his opera. The librettist wrote, still in the opera's preface, that he had been "afraid that the names of Caractacus, Elidurus, Cartismandua,

---

[340] Martin Banham, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*, New ed. (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[341] Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 46.

Aulus-Didius, etc. would worry the ear, above all, when pronounced to music."[342] The change of the name "Caractacus" to the shorter and less harsh-sounding "Arvire," for example, was a choice that Guillard made, according to the *Esprit des Journaux*, to avoid "hurt[ing] delicate ears."[343] However, there is also a political reason for this change: Guillard felt empowered to change the names because the subject matter of the opera was not of national importance to France, and his French audience would not be aware that the characters were based on historical figures with different names.[344] The topic, since it stemmed from British history and was focused on the origins of the British monarchy, had immense national resonance in London but little in Paris. This lack of political resonance had economic consequences. Efforts to popularize the opera through revisions and promotion failed, and, as one disappointed Paris musician wrote, "*Evelina* had produced neither silver nor effect."[345]

The original cast of *Arvire et Évélina* included Anne Chéron and her husband Auguste Chéron in the title roles, playing father and daughter.[346] The two were popular singers in Paris at the time, but even their fame and the dramatic story of Sacchini's untimely death were not enough to make the opera popular in its first run.[347] The opera was performed for a second time five days after its premiere, but its third performance

---

[342] Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, iv.

[343] *L'Esprit Des Journaux, François et Étrangers*, VI: 310.

[344] Guillard, *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, iv.

[345] "Evelina n'a produit hier ni argent ni effet." Jullien, *La Cour et L'opéra Sous Louis XVI*, 139.

[346] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas." Thierstein attempts to relate the entire performance history of *Arvire et Évélina*. However, his matter-of-fact recitation of performances neglects to account for the massive political upheavals during the late 1780s and 1790s in France which could not have failed to affect opera performances in Paris. Thierstein's dissertation is heavily indebted to Adolphe Jullien's work from a century earlier (Ibid.). Mark Darlow, whose excellent book, *Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789-1794*, I cite below, addresses precisely these issues, although *Arvire et Évélina* in particular is not examined in depth, since the opera is only listed in large data sets.

[347] As Adolphe Jullien starkly puts it, the cast "was comprised of at least four artists of the first order, but it was not in their power to save so boring a work" ("Cette distribution comprenait au moins quatre artistes de premier ordre, mais il n'était pas en leur pouvoir de sauver un ouvrage aussi ennuyeaux.") Jullien, *La Cour et L'opéra Sous Louis XVI*.

scheduled eleven days later was postponed due to lack of profits. Instead, Sacchini's previous opera, the more popular *Oedipe à Colone*, was revived.[348] The third performance of the opera did not take place until seven months later, on December 27, 1788, after Antoine Dauvergne, a proponent of Sacchini, had revitalized the opera by adding an ensemble after the end of the first act and a ballet at the end of the third.[349] In total, the opera was performed ten times in the 1788-1789 season, six times in the 1789-1790 season, and seven times in the 1790 to 1791 season, after which it was removed from the repertoire.[350] Each one of these performances was mounted only due to the publicity efforts of Antoine Dauvergne, who gave out large numbers of free tickets to the performances to fill the seats. However, in June of 1789, Dauvergne finally gave up his campaign, explaining that "*Evelina* had produced neither silver nor effect."[351] As Adolphe Jullien observed in his 1878 study of court music during Louis XVI's reign, Dauvergne's "judgment, pronounced by the most zealous defender of Sacchini must have been the coup de grace for that unfortunate *Evelina*, which disappeared anew from the repertoire, but not without return."[352]

But why were Dauvergne's efforts to produce *Arvire et Évélina* such an uphill battle? In French reviews of *Arvire et Évélina* the opera is praised for its successful use of contrasts. However, it is also thought of as an uneven work with a monotonous libretto, and a vocal texture hindered by the underuse of women's voices. (Évélina is the only

[348] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 49.

[349] Ibid.

[350] Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789-1794*, The New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 199. Darlow also observes a distinct trend away from designations of operas as *tragédie-lyrique* during the same period (207-212).

[351] "Evelina n'a produit hier ni argent ni effet." Jullien, *La Cour et L'opéra Sous Louis XVI*, 139.

[352] "Cet arret, prononcé par le plus zélé défenseur de Sacchini, devait être le coup de grâce pour cette malheureuse *Evelina*…" Ibid.

female character in the cast).[353] The June 1788 issue of *L'esprit des Journeaux* praised the framework of the opera's plot but noted that the action was not fast-paced enough to retain the audience's attention.[354] The characters' motivations, including the love between Irvin and Évélina and Vellinus's hatred of Arvire, are underdeveloped, and the role of Arvire on the whole is underutilized, "hardly consisting of anything but entrances and exits, mostly useless."[355] The article also bemoaned that no opportunities were given in the course of the opera for spectacles or grand ballets such as were popular in many forms of Parisian entertainment at the time.[356] Despite offering these criticisms, the article enthusiastically complimented a number of the arias as well as the choral writing: "We see everywhere the purity of [Sacchini's] melody and the energy of his composition shine."[357] In a review of the Paris premiere in the London paper *General Evening Post*, the author sadly but candidly admitted that "the opera, set to music by Sacchini, so respected by all, was sure of success, but yet one only woman who appears but in the third act, and no ballet analogous to the piece, seemed not to please the audience in general….It is rather doubtful it should continue, or ever be a favourite opera."[358]

In addition to these aesthetic concerns voiced in the contemporary press, Mark Darlow's work on opera in Revolutionary France suggests that operas depicting royalty needed to be carefully crafted to be well-received during the period.[359] That an exiled king, Arvire, is hopeful to return to power at the end of Guillard's libretto would have been dissonant with current events after 1791, as King Louis XVI tried to escape Paris,

---

[353] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 61.

[354] *L'Esprit Des Journaux, François et Étrangers*, VI: 312.

[355] Ibid., VI: 313.

[356] *Ibid*.

[357] Ibid., VI: 313–314.

[358] "Postscript," *General Evening Post*, May 10, 1788.

[359] Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution*, 255–275.

was forcibly returned, and was finally tried and executed in the winter of 1792-3. After the revolution, *Arvire et Évélina* still did not take up regular residence in the Parisian repertoire. It was produced in February of 1811, revived in a two-act, revised version in 1820, and performed for the final time in 1826. None of these productions was particularly successful.[360]

It is interesting to note that reviews of the 1797 version of *Arvire et Évélina* in London look back on the French premiere with rose-colored glasses, reporting, for example, that:

> The representation…was attended with the greatest success, which might, perhaps, be in part attributed to the great respect that the French entertained for this great master, whose death happened at that particular moment, as well as to the excellence of the music, of which, too, the English who saw this opera at Paris speak in terms of the highest admiration.[361]

This London reviewer sought to boost the success of the opera in London with a false memory of the opera's success in Paris, showing that even when France and England were at war, French taste was still admired.

Arvire et Évélina Returns to London

While *Arvire et Évélina* was enjoying little success in Paris, Mason's *Caractacus* was still vastly popular in London, where it continued to be performed as a play and to be published as both a dramatic poem and a play.[362] In December 1796, newspapers began to announce excitedly that a "new serious opera" called *Arvire et Évélina* was in rehearsal with the Italian soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti in the title role of the British

[360] Thierstein, "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas," 45–46.

[361] "News." *Morning Chronicle*. January 10, 1797.

[362] The theatrical version of *Caractacus* was republished in London as part of the hefty Bell's British Theatre series in 1797, the same year that the opera premiered in Italian on the London stage, and, coincidently, the year of Mason's death. William Mason, "Caractacus," in *Bell's British Theatre*, vol. XXXI (London, 1797).

princess.[363] The opera had its much-anticipated premiere at London's Italian opera house, the King's Theatre, on January 8, 1797 and became popular in its own right, performed thirteen times in 1797 and five more times in 1798.[364]

As this dissertation has shown, the repertoire of the King's Theatre, what is usually referred to as "Italian opera" in London, consisted of operas of a variety of different genres and musical styles. Not all composers and librettists whose pieces were presented on stage were Italian by birth; neither was the music strictly Italian stylistically. In the case of *Arvire et Évélina*, the "Italian opera" was a French opera cloaked in Da Ponte's Italian translation. After the French Revolution, British subjects sought to define themselves as distinct from their counterparts in Revolutionary France. At this time, *Arvire et Évélina* could not have been performed in French in London. British subjects wanted to thoroughly distance themselves from the French, with whom they were at war. As historian Linda Colley evocatively put it, "imagining the French as their vile opposites, as Hyde to their Jekyll, became a way for Britons – particularly the poorer and less privileged – to contrive for themselves a converse and flattering identity."[365] Translating *Arvire et Évélina* into Italian divested it of its French associations so that its British source material could shine through a new Italian costume.

Italianness was both similar and different to Frenchness in the eyes of the British. Like the French, Italians were foreign creators of valued artwork; they were speakers of a Romance language; perhaps most problematic for the English, Italians were practitioners of Catholicism. However, as Amy Dunegan relates in her examination of English attitudes towards Italians and their music in the late seventeenth and early

[363] "King's Theatre." *True Briton*. December 30, 1796.

[364] Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*, 100.

[365] Linda. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2005), 368.

eighteenth century, "...even during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, when anti-Catholic hysteria was at its zenith, foreign (and especially Italian) music was capturing the interest of English music lovers."[366] The relatively small Italian population in London in the late eighteenth century was still mostly made up of artists and scholars of a cosmopolitan bent, and Londoners appreciated their aesthetic contributions to the city. Pre-unification Italy was not politically threatening, unlike revolutionary France, whose powerful land armies always seemed poised on the brink of an invasion of British soil. British subjects also appreciated the Italian cities they passed through on their Grand Tours, feeling a kinship between their budding empire and the empire of Ancient Rome.[367]

Thus, although Italian immigrants to Britain were not treated as full citizens, Italian qualities were enthusiastically cultivated and appropriated by the British, even as French cultural products were disdained, ignored, or denied recognition of their provenance. Italian opera continued to play a major role in London in the 1790s, as it had for more than half a century, and Italian immigrants, including many singers and musicians, continued to arrive in London, strongly contributing to the cultural dynamics of the city. This set of historical and social circumstances contributed to two Italians, Lorenzo Da

---

[366] Amy Dunegan, "Secularization, National Identity, and the Baroque: Italian Music in England, 1660-1711" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2014). Dunegan has explored Anglo-Italian relations particularly in reference to music between 1660 and 1711. Many of the observations she makes about this period, between the Restoration and the first performance of a Handel opera in London, hold true later in the eighteenth century as well. She examines how English audiences overcame anti-Catholic and xenophobic tendencies to embrace Italian music and opera in particular, citing the growing secularization of music in public entertainment as a neutralizing factor for anti-Catholic sentiments relating to music. She also claims that Italy's association with, on the one hand, the cultural contributions of the ancient Roman empire, and on the other the Venetian republic, overweighed associations with Italian decadence, Popery, and vice in the mind of Whigs especially.

[367] Rosemary Sweet, "The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 2 (June 2010): 145–64. Amy Dunegan calls contemporary Italy the "forgotten middleman" between Ancient Rome and contemporary Britain. See Dunegan, "Secularization, National Identity, and the Baroque: Italian Music in England, 1660-1711."

Ponte and Vincenzo Federici, being tasked with adapting the text and music of a French opera into an Italian version that would fit London tastes.

In the eighteenth century, the concepts of opera text and opera score were relatively fluid, and the lines between translations and adaptations, and between adaptations and original works, were rather blurry. In England, copyright laws only began to be applied to music in 1777, and the large number of lawsuits revolving around musical copyrights during the 1780s and 1790s demonstrated that ideas about the authorship of musical works were in flux.[368] Many of these lawsuits involved practices of pastiche compilation. A pastiche, or *pasticcio* in Italian, was a musical work that was formed out of pieces from diverse sources – an aria from one opera, a duet from another, a trio from a third, and so on. The practice of pastiche writing began in the seventeenth century, and was, by turns, celebrated and reviled. Some composers, such as Handel, famously cobbled together pastiches from their own previous works. Others took pieces from operas written by others. Some cited the thefts openly; others disguised them.[369] The King's Theatre, London, presented more pastiches than any other company during the late eighteenth century.[370] House composers were even obligated to sign contracts stating they would "arrange all the Pasticcios" that the theater wanted.[371] These pastiches were often produced at the whim of the prima donna, who could demand that her favorite bravura aria be inserted.[372] The performance of adapted operas was therefore more common than the mounting of original operas at the King's Theatre in the 1790s.

---

[368] Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio."

[369] As a librettist, Lorenzo Da Ponte famously borrowed heavily from Giovanni Bertati's *Don Giovanni* libretto of 1787 for his own *Don Giovanni*, premiered that same year.

[370] Curtis Price, "Pasticcio," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press.

[371] Ibid.

[372] See page 54 of this dissertation.

Da Ponte and Federici, the poet of the King's Theatre and a member of its music staff, respectively, transformed *Arvire et Évélina* into its more British Italian version, advertised as *Evelina or the triumph of the English over the Romans*. Although critics struggled to spell his foreign name, they were quick to praise Da Ponte's translation and adaptation of *Arvire et Évélina*. "The correct elegance with which [the opera] has been brought forward, and the faithfulness of the translation from the French, by Mr. Du Ponte [*sic*] the Poet of the Theatre, are equally praiseworthy," said the *Business Morning Herald* after one performance.[373] The *Oracle and Public Advertiser* agreed, lauding "the uncommon attention and care of the Manager to bring [*Arvire et Évélina*] forward with peculiar splendor and correctness" and "the closeness of the translation from the French, by Mr. DA PANTE [*sic*], the Poet of the Theatre."[374] *True Briton* did not attempt to identify Da Ponte by name, but still reported that the opera "has been very ably translated into Italian by the Poet of the Theatre."[375]

Da Ponte's musical counterpart in the business of adapting operas for the King's Theatre stage was Vincenzo Federici. Federici (Pesaro 1764 - Milan 1826) had arrived in London in 1780, where he first supported himself by teaching music. He began his tenure as *maestro al cembalo* for the King's Theatre ten years later, in a performance of Bianchi's *La villanella rapita* on February 9, 1790. He was also a composer, and his opera *L'usurpator innocente* was performed at the King's Theatre that same year.[376] Federici's tenure at the theater overlapped considerably with Da Ponte's, and they worked together a good deal. However, according to Da Ponte's *Memorie*, they were not the best of friends. Rather, Federici was a member of the rather expansive cast of villains

---

[373] "Opera House," *Business Morning Herald*, January 12, 1797.

[374] "King's Theatre." *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. January 12, 1797.

[375] "The Opera." *True Briton*. January 12, 1797.

[376] "Federici, Vincenzo," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed September 28, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/09410.

that populates Da Ponte's recollections. Da Ponte did not have any kind words for his colleague, writing that "Federici was a veritable emporium of iniquities. It was enough for a man to have merit, or merely the reputation for having a little, to be hated and persecuted by him."[377]

One of Federici's many villainous attributes in Da Ponte's eyes was his preference for the version of *Don Giovanni* written by Gazzaniga and Bertati over the version written by Mozart and Da Ponte. Federici's reluctance to stage the Mozart and Da Ponte *Don Giovanni* in 1794 [378] contributed to the opera not being staged in London in a complete version until 1817.[379] The two also had another dispute, this one financial rather than artistic. Federici unfairly, according to Da Ponte, earned a share of Da Ponte's libretto profits.[380] The frequency with which such disputes erupted can again be traced to the lack of strict copyright guidelines enforced at the time.

While Da Ponte was in charge of translating the *Arvire et Évélina* libretto from the French and adapting it to the taste of London audiences, Federici had the task of tailoring the music for the King's Theatre stage. The two most likely had to collaborate in some manner in order to ensure that every piece of music included had an appropriate text, and vice versa, but there is no record as to how this partnership was conducted. At any rate, Federici's contributions to *Arvire et Évélina* were praised in reviews alongside Da Ponte's, and sometimes even when Da Ponte's were overlooked. *The Oracle and Public Advertiser* wrote that "the skillful adaptation and arrangement of the Music by FREDERICI [*sic*], who presides at the Harpsichord, are equally conspicuous [as Da

---

[377] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 224.

[378] Ibid., 232.

[379] Lydia Goehr and Daniel Alan Herwitz, eds., *The Don Giovanni Moment: Essays on the Legacy of an Opera*, Columbia Themes in Philosophy, Social Criticism, and the Arts (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 81.

[380] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 250. Da Ponte claimed that Banti convinced the King's Theatre's director to agree to this arrangement since Banti was Federici's lover at the time.

Ponte's work on the piece], and deserve an ample return from the public."[381] *True Briton* agreed, saying, "FEDERICI really deserves the highest credit for the very tasteful and judicious manner in which he has adapted the music of this charming production," and on another occasion the paper was still more laudatory: "FEDERICI, who presides at the Harpsichord, has adapted and arranged the music with a degree of taste and skill that does infinite credit to his professional character."[382] *The Business Morning Herald* similarly wrote that "MR. FEDERICI, who presides at the Harpsichord, has given equal proof of merit and skill, by the tasteful manner in which he has adapted and arranged the music."[383]

These reviews of *Arvire et Évélina* bring the usually behind-the-scenes processes of translation and adaptation to the foreground. They emphasize that the opera was not originally written for London, nor was it originally written in Italian. Rather, it had been specially remade, crafted for the pleasure of the King's Theatre audience. The words cited above that are used to describe Da Ponte and Federici's contributions: "tasteful," "judicious," full of "merit" and "skill," "attention" and "care," "splendor" and "correctness," "correct elegance" and "faithfulness," all point to the fact that the two Italians' work succeeded by means of its accuracy and rigor.[384] The reviews imply that there are good and bad ways to adapt and translate opera and that the most precise methods are the best.[385] Even during this time of war between England and revolutionary

---

[381] "King's Theatre." *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. January 12, 1797.

[382] "The Opera." *True Briton*. January 30, 1797; "The Opera." *True Briton*. January 12, 1797.

[383] "Opera House," January 12, 1797.

[384] As translation scholar Lawrence Venuti attests, "Canons of accuracy and fidelity are always locally defined, specific to different cultural formations at different historical moments." The fact that multiple reviewers use terms like these to describe Da Ponte's translation does not mean that the translation is objectively "faithful." Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility a History of Translation*, 67.

[385] If the reviewers did indeed rigorously compare the Italian *Arvire et Évélina* to its source, as they imply that they have, their analyses were most likely of the printed libretti, published for the two versions in Paris and London, respectively. The reviewers could not have relied on their recollections of the Paris production and their immediate impressions of the London production alone to make such detailed remarks.

France, that Da Ponte's *Arvire et Évélina* was faithful to a French libretto was cause for high praise and congratulations. As a critic for the *Morning Chronicle* explains, the opera "was composed at Paris in 1788 (when France was France)." [386] In the eyes of this critic, the opera's composition even one year prior to the French Revolution meant that it was uncontaminated by enemy ideals.

It must be noted that in addition to Da Ponte and Federici's efforts to make *Arvire et Évélina* palatable for British audiences, the opera's subject matter itself helped it along towards popularity.[387] In the 1790s, feelings of national pride, especially associated with military triumph over revolutionary France, were loudly proclaimed in the arts and in politics, by major figures and by the common people. Naval battles against France made headlines in the papers' news sections, but they were also aestheticized and celebrated in such publications as "Lives of the British Admirals," in spectacular reenactments of naval battles, in paintings, and in music and dance in London's English-language theaters.[388] *Arvire et Évélina*'s plot, touting a historic victory of British royalty over foreigners, capitalized on the patriotic nature of the times, and critics lauded its British source material. One review explicitly noted, "the opera of *Evelina* is founded upon an interesting, though very remote event in the history of the ancient Kings, or rather Princes, of Wales."[389] The history, though "remote," was also timely: the modern British monarchy was in slight turmoil due to the publicly rocky marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Many reviews of *Arvire et Évélina* devoted entire paragraphs to the

---

[386] "News." *Morning Chronicle*. January 10, 1797.

[387] Theodore Fenner also has noted that the connection between *Arvire et Évélina*'s plot and the history of British royalty was "no doubt partly responsible for the work's popularity" in London. See Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*, 100.

[388] For "Lives of the British Admirals" see: "King's Theatre," *Morning Post*, March 11, 1794. For a painting commission of Lord Howe's battle of June 1, 1794, see: "God Save the King and Rule Britannia," *True Briton*, July 15, 1794. For re-enactments of Lord Howe's victory, see: "Theatre - Drury-Lane," *Star*, July 3, 1794.

[389] "Opera," *Morning Chronicle*, January 16, 1797; "The Opera," *Sun*, January 16, 1797.

Prince and Princess, [390] and all reviews at least mentioned whether they were present or absent at each performance. As contemporary reports of opera-going in the late eighteenth century reveal, to attend an opera at the time was as much about seeing and being seen as about listening to and viewing the performance.[391] Although the presence of important personages was often noted in contemporary reviews, *Arvire et Évélina*'s strong connection to national history, and specifically to royalty, contributed significantly to its reception in celebrity-crazed 1790's London.

Da Ponte's Libretto as Adaptation

An exact replication of *Arvire et Évélina* simply translated into Italian would have sparked the London audience members' interests with its focus on British royalty, but the opera needed to be modified to ensure that the performance did not ultimately bore them. At first glance, however, there do not seem to have been many changes. The Italian libretto follows the French libretto of 1788 extremely closely.[392] In the majority of cases the actual vocabulary and turns of phrase that are used rely on the large number of cognates that exist between French and Italian.

---

[390] Colley, *Britons*, 217.

[391] J.H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture (University of California Press, 1995); Michael Burden, "Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Plans of the boxes in the King's Theatre, with lists of all of the subscribers, especially highlighting the royalty, were published almost every year. See, for example, William Lee, Daniel Nathan Shury, and England), *The Plan of the Boxes at the King's Theatre, Haymarket with an Alphabetical List of the Subscribers for the Season 1804* (London: D.N. Shury, 1804). Literature of the time also contains scenes at the opera that focus on the social act of opera-going. For example, see Fanny Burney, *Evelina, Or, The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody (London; New York: Penguin Books, 1994).

[392] *Arvire et Évélina* was the first libretto that Da Ponte ever published himself, in his first printing shop near the opera house at 134 Pall Mall, and as such it is by no means a perfect document.[392] There are a number of typographical errors. For example, many lines are misattributed in this libretto, as measured against information from the original French score and libretto as well as the Italian manuscript score. In addition, many of the characters' names are spelled incorrectly. There is an amusing pair of pages in which the character Modred, whose name correctly is abbreviated to "Mod." preceding his lines, becomes first "Rod." on his next line, and in the facing page in English translation first "Ned." and then "Nod." Sacchini and Guillard, *Evelina; or, the triumph of the English over the Romans*, 18–19.

For example, in Évélina's third act aria, entitled "O Dieux de mon pays" in French and "Ah voi giusti e sommi Dei" in Italian, the line "confondez ses ennemis" is repeated seven times in the French score, making up the bulk of the text sung in the short aria. The Italian that Da Ponte chose to set is "confondete i traditor."[393] As can be seen, for example in Figure 8, the Italian word "Confondete" is set to the same music as the French word "confondez."[394] With this use of an almost identical cognate, the aria sounds much the same in French as it does in Italian. Of course, not every word can be a cognate between French and Italian, and some cognates that do exist must have been ruled out by Da Ponte when they did not fit into a particular stress pattern or rhyme scheme dictated by the conventions of Italian libretto writing. For example, a cognate for the French "ennemis" is the Italian "nemici." However, the accent in the word "nemici" falls on the second syllable. Based on the original score and the demands of Italian grammar, the place where the word must appear in the music demands that its last syllable land on the downbeat and then be sustained for the length of a half note. The unaccented final "i" of "nemici" could not handle such a stress while remaining understandable, whereas in French the final syllable that is pronounced out loud (in other words, not a final "e") always takes the stress.[395] Da Ponte chooses another word typical of Italian libretti and used to a person who has performed bad deeds, for example Don Giovanni: "traditore." When its final vowel is removed, as is also common in Italian poetry of the time, the word becomes "traditor," with an accent falling on its final syllable. In this form, the word can suitably be set to Sacchini's musical line.

---

[393] Ibid., 56.

[394] Antonio Sacchini and Lorenzo Da Ponte, "Evelina" (Music Manuscript, c 1797), 175, Add MS16117, British Library.

[395] Monique L'Huillier, *Advanced French Grammar* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 57.

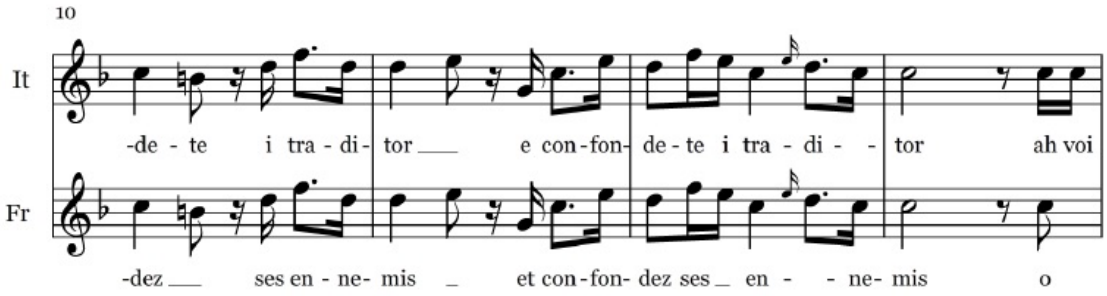


Figure 8: Italian and French Cognates Set to Music

The Italian opera's high-level act and scene structure hews similarly closely to the French. The biggest divergences occur at the ends of the opera's acts, and they contribute to a lightening of the opera's general mood. In London, the opera, although too dark to be a comedy, was also not as tragic as the French version, or its still more gruesome and depressing English source material. The Act I finale in the Paris version is a quintet sung by Arvire, Évélina, the High Priest, Vellinus, and Irvin. The affect of this ensemble is ambiguous: Arvire sings excitedly of his budding hope that he will return to battle and rule as a king again, but the other characters express their apprehension and confusion.[396] The Italian libretto ends, instead, with a cheerful trio for Arvire, Évélina, and Irvin.[397]

The text for the trio in *Arvire et Évélina* is a translation of a trio from another opera by Sacchini and Guillard, *Oedipe à Colonne*, with a few minor alterations. The trio blended in so seamlessly with the rest of *Arvire et Évélina* that reviews praised its merits without exploring its origins. In its original setting, it is sung by Oedipe, Antigone, and

[396] Guillard, *Arvire et Évélina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*, 18.

[397] In the *Arvire et Évélina* libretto printed by Da Ponte it seems that Arvire, Évélina, and Vellinus are tasked with singing the trio. However, Vellinus is a relatively minor character, and his participation is thus unusual. In the versions of the trio printed by L. Lavenu and by an unnamed publisher to be sold at the theater, the characters are listed as Arvire, Évélina, and Irvin. The manuscript score is conflicted. The dialogue before the trio is between Arvire, Évélina, and Vellinus, and it is followed by a crossed-out indication that the trio follows. However, the trio itself is mistakenly pasted in the middle of Act 2, and cites the characters as Arvire, Évélina, and Irvin. This discrepancy between which brother is meant to sing the trio is a small indication of the complicated nature of transferring material from one opera into another, offering a window into a process that was usually obscured.

Polynice. Oedipe and Antigone are father and daughter, just like Arvire and Évélina, and Polynice is Oedipe's son and Antigone's brother. In *Arvire et Évélina*, both Vellinus and Irvin enter in Act I as young men willing and able to help restore Arvire to his throne. In this sense, they are son-like figures to Arvire. Although Vellinus turns out to be a traitor, Irvin is a decent man, and Arvire deems him worthy of the title of son by offering him Évélina's hand in marriage at the end of the opera. It is because of this similarity of situation that no contrafactum is needed for this trio. The only thing necessary was for Da Ponte to translate the French into Italian. This translation appears in the libretto, but is slightly modified for setting in the score. Arvire's exclamation "O figlio caro," or "oh dear son," in the libretto points to Oedipe's situation more than Arvire's. It is thus changed in the sung version of *Arvire et Évélina* to "O lieto dì," or "O happy day," which is a literal translation of the French libretto's second line, "O jour prospère."

Because the original source for this trio is not *Arvire et Évélina*, it provides us with another important point of comparison. There are no documented performances of *Arvire et Évélina* in Italian outside of the King's Theatre. However, although *Oedipe* was never performed at the King's Theatre, it was performed in Italian. One such performance occurred in Naples in 1808 at the Teatro San Carlo, and was dedicated to the Emperor Napoleon, who at that time was King of Naples and Sicily. The librettist who wrote this Italian version was Giovanni Schmidt, who self-deprecatingly offers his "debole lavoro" or "weak work" to the Emperor in his preface to the libretto.[398] Comparing Schmidt's Italian translation to Da Ponte's earlier work allows a rare opportunity in this repertoire to examine two translators' approaches to the same text. The fact that the French text is so simple, and that the music is so repetitive means that

[398] Nicolas François Guillard, *Edippo a Colono*, trans. Giovanni Schmidt (Naples: Stamperia Flautina, 1808).

the two Italian texts do not vary widely from one another. However, each translator's process can be more readily observed in contrast to the other's.[399]

For example, as demonstrated in Table 9, the French text has the rhyme scheme ABAB. Da Ponte's version in the published King's Theatre libretto is ABCC. The version in the manuscript score and also found in published sheet music extracts from *Arvire et Évélina* has an AABC rhyme scheme. Thus, the two London versions depart from the French model. Schmidt's version, on the other hand, returns to the French libretto's ABAB rhyme scheme. In order to accomplish this rhyme scheme, however, Schmidt departs from the source text in ways that Da Ponte, unconstrained by the French rhyme structure, does not. We can see this departure in the final two lines of the stanza, where Schmidt takes out the idea "sur la terre," or "on earth," translated by Da Ponte as "quaggiù," or "down here," and more literally "in terra" in his two versions. Italian simply doesn't have any adjective corresponding to happiness, joy, or propitiousness that rhymes with words for earth. Da Ponte avoids this issue by translating the French literally but not rhyming the text, while Schmidt prefers to preserve the rhyme and change the text's meaning. Arguably, the meaning of the text is not changed to any great degree by Schmidt's omission of "on earth," but the affect of the text is modified somewhat. That the characters have to indicate that happiness can only be found in virtue's peace on earth indicates that the rest of their exclamations are prayerful. They are looking at heaven, giving thanks for their current fortune, and have to bring themselves back to earth to tell the audience a moral. This short and simple example thus offers an excellent window into the compromises that translators of operas are forced to make at every turn in regard to the content and form of their texts, making such

[399] Here, we will just examine the first stanza presented in each text since the second stanza is substantively the same as the first in all four versions.

Table 9: Trio from *Oedipe à Colone* and *Arvire et Évélina*

French[400]	**English Translation of French**	**Italian in the King's Theatre Libretto**[401]	**English Translation of King's Theatre Libretto**[402]
O doux moment! O jour prospère	O sweet moment! O propitious day	O figlio caro! O lieto istante,	O dear son! O happy moment,
Mon fils enfin m'est donc rendu.	My son at last is returned to me.	Felice dì! La sposa/madre amante vedrò così	Happy day! The beloved wife/mother I will see like this
Oui, le vrai Bonheur sur la terre	Yes, the true goodness on earth	Ah il vero ben quaggiù	Ah the true goodness down here
Est dans la paix de la vertu.	Is in virtue's peace.	Vien sol dalla virtù	Comes only from virtue
Italian in Manuscript Score[403]	**English translation of Manuscript score**	**Italian in Naples Libretto**[404]	**English Translation of Naples Libretto**
O lieto dì, o dolce istante	O happy day, o sweet moment	O lieto giorno! Dolce momento!	O happy day! Sweet moment
Me resa alfin la madre amante	My beloved mother at last is returned to me.	Ritorna il figlio al genitor![405]	The son returns to his father!
Sì il vero bene in terra	Yes, the true goodness on earth	La vera pace, ed il contento	The true peace, and contentment
Vien sol dalla virtù	Comes only from virtue.	Nella virtude trovansi ognor.	One can always find in virtue.

[400] Nicolas François Guillard, *Oedipe a Colone* (Paris: Chez les Libraires, 1789), 23.

[401] Sacchini, *Evelina or, triumph of the English over the Romans*, 22.

[402] Ibid, 23.

[403] Sacchini and Da Ponte, "Evelina," 97-102.

[404] Guillard, *Edippo a Colono*, 71.

[405] Polinice's words are slightly different for the first two lines of the trio: "Acquisto un padre, felice evento!/ Soave giubilo m'inebria il cor!" or "I gain a father, happy event! Gentle joy inebriates my heart!"

modifications as are necessary to allow the new text in the target language to fit the rhythmic and melodic contours of the preexisting music.

The end of *Évélina*'s final act is also happier in the Italian version than in the French. The end of the final act in the French version displays the characters well-positioned for the future but still shaken; the Italian libretto performed in London, on the other hand, is unambiguously joyous. It has a typical comic ending much like those at the end of the operas Da Ponte had written a decade earlier with Mozart in Vienna. In the Italian, all of the major characters express their happiness, and the opera ends with an uplifting chorus. This chorus is modeled after the French, in one stanza with an alternating rhyme scheme (*abab*). However, while the French stanza is based strongly in the plot, referring back to the Roman emperor, the Italian finale is so general that it could be at home in the midst of any happy ending[406]:

Table 10: Finale of *Arvire et Évélina* in French and Italian

	Source Materials	**Translation**
French	Ce jour va remplir mon espoir. Peut-être je la vois avec trop d'avantage, Mais je crois que César, malgré tout son pouvoir, N'eût pu jamais te donner davantage.	This day will fulfill my hope Maybe I see it with excessive favor, But I believe that Caesar, in spite of all his power, Could never have given you more.
Italian	L'amica e dolce calma A noi risplenda ancor E in queste piagge ogni alma Vivrà felice ognor.[407]	The friendly and sweet calm Again brightens for us And on these shores every soul Will live happily ever after.

Elsewhere in the opera, Da Ponte's poetics are obscured by the utilitarian nature of his translation, which he completed as quickly as possible through liberal use of cognates

[406] In fact, this ending is quite similar to the ending of *Gli schiavi per amore* which premiered in London in 1787 and was also performed in the 1797 season along with *Arvire et Évélina*. This finale also contains a stanza of four settenari with an abab' rhyme scheme with "happily ever after" themes: "Dunque ognuno si riposi/Nella sua felicità/ Ed andiam de' cari sposi/Il contento a festeggiar" ("Therefore everyone rests/ in his happiness/ and we go to celebrate the contentment of the dear couple," or as it is simply summarized in the English translation in the King's Theatre libretto, "Thus we are all happy and shall endeavor to preserve our happiness for ever. ") Giovanni Paisiello, *Gli Schiavi per Amore* (London: D. Stuart, 1787).

[407] Sacchini and Guillard, *Evelina; or, the triumph of the English over the Romans*, 64.

and a straightforward and literal translation style. The finale exposes his unique voice as he worked to reconcile the genre differences between Italian-language opera as performed at the King's Theatre and French *tragédie-lyrique*. *Arvire et Évélina* may not have been accepted in London in 1797 if it had not contained a conventional happy ending. In addition, the happy ending may have been a stand-in for the happy ending the London public wished upon the struggling marriage of the real Prince and Princess of Wales.

The Manuscript Score: Levels of Adaptation

Because operas translated into Italian for the King's Theatre did not normally gain significant popularity at home or abroad, their scores were never printed in full with Italian text underlay. There would have been no market for such volumes, and they would have been prohibitively expensive to print. Scores of translated operas from the King's Theatre therefore existed only in manuscript form. Today few such scores still exist, and none can be found for the King's Theatre productions of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, *Zémire et Azor*, or *La belle Arsène*. However, the manuscript score to *Arvire et Évélina*, from the King's Theatre production, survives and is held at the British Library.[408] The British Library's manuscript score to *Évélina*, representing the King's Theatre's Italian-language version of the opera, is valuable not only because it is the sole surviving record of the complete text-setting of Da Ponte's translation of Guillard's libretto, but because it also shows that modifications were made to *Évélina* both during rehearsals and during the performance run. Although the French score and libretto were obviously used as a reference,[409] the artistic staff at the King's Theatre was not afraid to diverge from the

[408] Sacchini and Da Ponte, "Evelina" Add. MS 16117, British Library, London.

[409] A close examination of the cuts, additions, and substitutions that occur between the Italian libretto of *Arvire et Évélina* and the Italian score reveal that whoever was revising the manuscript had the French

French original. The layers of cuts in the *Évélina* manuscript score, along with contemporary reviews of the opera, show that the King's Theater production's active approach to adapting the opera to the tastes of London audiences was successful.

The score is entirely handwritten on wide, now-yellowed paper with black ink bleeding through. The document was originally owned by Domenico Dragonetti and donated to the library upon his death in 1846 along with 181 other items.[410] Dragonetti, who was from Venice, and had performed on the streets of that city with Brigida Banti when they both were young,[411] was hired as a double-bass player at the King's Theatre beginning in 1794 and filled that role on and off throughout his forty-plus-year sojourn in London.[412] The double bass had an integral role in opera at the time, as it accompanied singers in recitative sections along with a cello and keyboard.[413] Dragonetti made a name for himself in London as a double-bass virtuoso, so much so that in 1804 he was the only member of the orchestra besides the harpsichordist listed in the book of and for King's Theatre subscribers.[414] Although Dragonetti did have a personal connection to the King's Theatre, we cannot be certain that his *Évélina* score was directly from the theater. Dragonetti was an avid collector of scores, along with dolls, snuffboxes, and instruments,

---

libretto close at hand. This is clear from a number of brief interjections set in the score that are not printed in the libretto. For example, Évélina sings "Hélas," or "Alas" after her father tells her that she reminds him of her mother and her cruel fate in Act 1 Scene 5. Évélina does not respond at all in the Italian libretto, but in the manuscript score, she sings, "Ahimé," a direct translation of the French "Hélas" into Italian.[409] A more impactful example is the first line of the duet between Évélina and Irvin in Act 2 Scene 6. In French, Irvin sings, "Hélas, daignez m'attendre," or "Alas, listen to me." In the Italian libretto, he sings, "Per pietà non tormentami," or "For pity's sake, don't torment me." In the manuscript score the French meaning returns in the Italian translation: "Ah! Per pietade oh! dio m'ascolta." See Ibid., 49; Sacchini and Guillard, *Evelina; or, the triumph of the English over the Romans*, 16.

[410] The British Library, *The Catalogue of Dragonetti Bequest* (London, 2013).

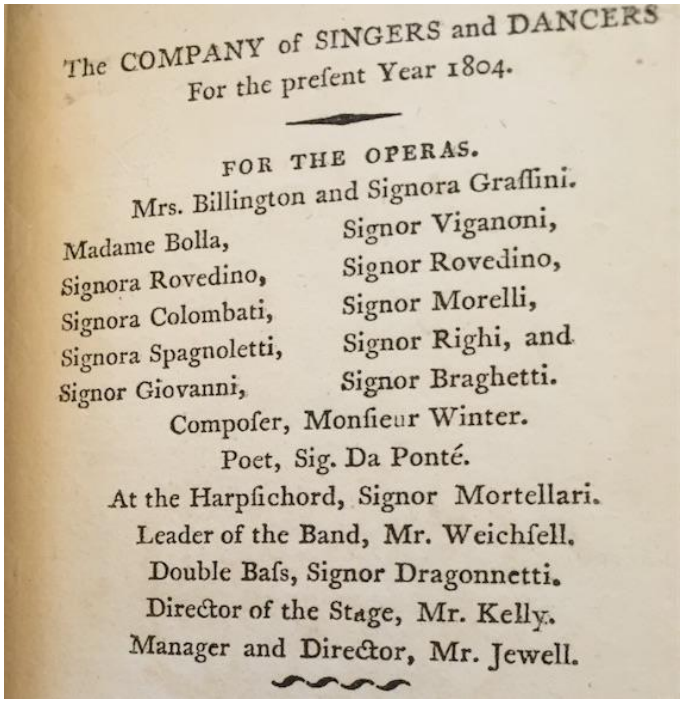
[411] Fiona M. Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846): The Career of a Double Bass Virtuoso* (Oxford: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997), 10–11.

[412] Ibid., 98–118.

[413] Ibid., 101.

[414] Lee and Shury, *The Plan of the Boxes at the King's Theatre, Haymarket with an Alphabetical List of the Subscribers for the Season 1804.*

[415] and he frequently sent letters to publishing houses and other collectors soliciting scores. Although *Évélina* is not referred to by name in his surviving correspondence, some of the scores he sought were to operas that the King's Theatre performed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[416] This indicates that Dragonetti did not perhaps have direct access to the official King's Theatre manuscript scores, and the *Évélina* score might have been procured through other channels.



The COMPANY of SINGERS and DANCERS
For the preſent Year 1804.

FOR THE OPERAS.

Mrs. Billington and Signora Graſſini.

Madame Bolla, Signor Viganoni,
Signora Rovedino, Signor Rovedino,
Signora Colombati, Signor Morelli,
Signora Spagnoletti, Signor Righi, and
Signor Giovanni, Signor Braghetti.

Compoſer, Monſieur Winter.
Poet, Sig. Da Ponté.
At the Harpſichord, Signor Mortellari.
Leader of the Band, Mr. Weichſell.
Double Baſs, Signor Dragonnetti.
Director of the Stage, Mr. Kelly.
Manager and Director, Mr. Jewell.

Figure 9: Members of the Company of The King's Theatre, 1804

Whatever the circumstances by which Dragonetti came to possess this score, there are other clues that point to its origin at the King's Theatre. The most apparent indication that the score is probably from the King's Theatre is the simple fact that the opera is not known to have ever been performed in Italian anywhere else. It was performed in French in Paris, of course, and also in Denmark in Danish in 1799, but in

[415] Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846)*, 26–29.

[416] "Original Letters from Various Writers, Addressed to Domenico Dragonetti" 1845 1802, Add. 17838., British Library.

Italian only in London.[417] The British Library's *Évélina* manuscript is not dated. All of the pages are numbered consecutively in pencil at the upper right-hand corners of the pages, with the exception of two pages that have asterisks after their page numbers to indicate that they are inserted. However, cross-referencing the score with the Italian-language libretto for the opera's London premiere in 1797 demonstrates that the binding and numbering of the manuscript score is not completely accurate. For example, the page numbered 97 should actually come immediately after the page numbered 60, and 61 should follow 102. There are three other such anomalies. None of them can be accounted for as purposeful changes, because they break up scenes in ways that are illogical even by the standards of stereotypical roundabout plots of operas. In addition, the ordering of the scenes in the manuscript score as it is currently bound does not correspond with the ordering reported in reviews. For example, the aforementioned trio sung by the characters Évélina, Irvin, and Arvire, "O lieto dì," appears pasted into the manuscript score in the middle of Act II Scene 6, whereas multiple reviews confirm that the trio ends Act I.[418]

The manuscript score provides still more evidence as to how *Arvire et Évélina* was adapted to the tastes of London audiences. London audiences famously disliked recitative. Theodore Fenner goes so far as to call it a "bugbear to English taste." [419] The score, along with the published libretto and contemporary reviews, shows that a large percentage of the recitative material originally in the opera was excised during the rehearsal process at the King's Theatre. Many of the cuts that are indicated by cross-outs

[417] Nicolas François Guillard, *Arvire Og Evelina* (Copenhagen, 1799).

[418] "Opera House," January 12, 1797; "The Opera," *True Briton*, January 12, 1797. As we have seen, this trio was not originally from *Arvire et Évélina*, so it is possible that a copyist working from the French score of that opera would have neglected to include it in a first draft. The trio may have been copied later as a freestanding document, which increases the probability of its having been bound together with the rest of the opera incorrectly.

[419] Fenner, *Opera in London*, 126.

in the score correspond with lines of text that appear in the libretto with quotation marks to the left of the verses, a way to indicate cuts in libretto publication that had been common since the seventeenth century. This evidence of major revisions to the recitative sections in the manuscript score is consistent with reviews of *Arvire et Évélina*'s London run, and the paper it is written on is British and from 1794, which further ties this manuscript to the King's Theatre production. After its opening performance, a critic informed his readers, "The Opera may be curtailed of a considerable part of the recitative, as it is too long for the English taste."[420] By the time the second performance was reviewed just over a week later, the requested cuts had come to pass, as a reviewer in the *Morning Chronicle* elaborated:

> The recitative was judiciously cut down, by which the charming music was put forward with more effect. In this country there is not that patient taste for the interest of a story, which the more serious French display at the Theatre, and therefore, a piece written for the Opera of Paris, must ever be enlivened for our more sprightly audience. Such is the fact, however it may contradict the common opinion of French levity. Nothing could be more elegant than the Airs thus relieved.... [421]

This review comes surprisingly close to disparaging the attention span of English audience members, who preferred more melodious and less wordy arias to dense recitative sections, and lauding French audiences for their seriousness and patience. This is a more generous view of the French than generally appeared in print during the British conflict with France. Nevertheless, the shortening of the recitative sections in the London production of *Arvire et Évélina* is a strong example of how the opera was denuded of its French qualities and re-made as British in its Italian-language iteration. Da Ponte's translation was literal and utilitarian for the most part, allowing the opera to reach audiences without much delay. However, he and his musical counterpart Vincenzo

---

[420] "Opera." *Morning Chronicle*. January 11, 1797. "Opera." *Lloyd's Evening Post*. January 13, 1797, Issue. "Opera House." *London Chronicle*. January 12, 1797.

[421] "Opera," *Morning Chronicle*, January 16, 1797.

Federici did take the time to adapt the French operatic structure to the tastes of London audiences, cutting lengthy recitative and adding a pleasingly upbeat finale. The circulation of ideas made possible by acts of translation allowed the British source material *Caractacus* to transform into a cosmopolitan product, *Arvire et Évélina*.

Brigida Giorgi Banti

One unexpected change that occurs from the French version of *Arvire et Évélina* to the Italian version is less about adapting the opera to the tastes of the opera's London audience, and more about adapting the opera to the talents of the opera's prima donna. In Évélina's entrance aria, the French score is in C minor, whereas the Italian manuscript score is in A minor. Lowering the key by a minor third changes the tessitura of the piece dramatically. Brigida Giorgi Banti, who sang the role of Évélina at the King's Theatre, was known to have a soprano range of G3 to a G6,[422] a range that would have allowed her to easily sing this aria at the French pitch. However, the Italian score lowers the aria such that the highest note for Banti in this version is an F5. In the French version it would have been an A5. Slightly less dramatically, Évélina's aria "Ah voi giusti e sommi Dei" is a whole step lower in the Italian-language version than in the French-language version. The highest note for Banti is again an F5, whereas it would have been a G5 in the French. Not all of the vocal writing for the character of Évélina is lowered, however. The duet for Évélina and Irvin in Act II Scene 6 is in the same key in the French as it is in Italian. The highest note for Banti is an A5, which appears several times throughout the piece.

[422] Genesi, "'... E non m'invola a sì rea fatalità': il repertorio di una soprano d'opera seria Accademia Filarmonica 'ad honorem' Maria Brigida Giorgi-Banti di Monticelli d'Ongina.," 206.

Without any evidence of adverse reviews, Banti must have been able to sing this note convincingly in performance.[423]

One possible explanation for the reduction of high notes in the role of Évélina for London is that Banti was ill in 1796.[424] Several reviews of operas performed around this time mention that audiences and critics alike missed Banti's presence onstage. A new Italian soprano who had recently arrived in London, Orsola Fabrizzi, who was being advertised as the new "prima buffa" for the King's Theatre, did not satisfy quite as well. A review from February 1796 of Cimarosa's opera *I traci amanti*, in which Fabrizzi appeared for the first time on the London stage, compared her unfavorably to Banti:

> "Signora FABRIZZI does not belong to the higher order of Performers, but she is by no means deficient in merit. Her voice is certainly not remarkable for sweetness; but it must be very disadvantageous for any Performer to appear before an audience accustomed to the delightful strains of BANTI."[425]

Eleven months later, in January of 1797, a review of Bianchi's *Il consiglio imprudente* stated still more emphatically that it was "impossible however to hear [the opera], without wishing to change FABRIZZI for BANTI.[426] It is possible that upon her highly anticipated return to the stage, and in such a dramatically and vocally intensive role as Évélina, Banti preferred to play it safe by singing her arias in lower keys. The transposition would not have stopped Banti from flaunting her range on nights when she did feel confident, since she would have always had the option to add in impressive high notes through ornamentation.

---

[423] According to Da Ponte's *Memorie*, Federici was Banti's lover. The poet writes, rather nastily, "Banti had her little Adonises in secret and changed them more often than most ladies change their hats. She had at that time given first place on her amatory list to that ape of a Federici." (Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 250.) If this is true, Federici may have been motivated by personal reasons to spend the time to transpose various parts of Banti's role.

[424] Fenner, *Opera in London*, 203.

[425] "King's Theatre," *True Briton*, February 17, 1796.

[426] "News," *True Briton*, January 5, 1797.

Operatic Extracts and Banti's Patriotic Role in Late Eighteenth-century London

The score to *Arvire et Évélina* with Italian text-underlay was never printed in full. However, printing of operatic excerpts was a common practice at the time, and we have seen a similar practice displayed in the publication of Banti's ornamentation of British patriotic songs. The London publishers Longman and Broderip and L. Lavenu both published operatic excerpts from *Évélina*.[427] Longman and Broderip's excerpts are not just for piano and voice, but for voice with a larger orchestral accompaniment.[428] Concert life in London reached its peak in 1795, according to Simon McVeigh, who writes that Haydn's removal from England's capital city resulted in a loss of vitality in London's concert scene.[429] However, outside of London, amateur societies still actively performed programs including orchestral and vocal works.[430] Longman and Broderip's publications of operatic excerpts for voice and chamber orchestra are thus aimed at markets in the city and beyond. Amateur musicians would probably not have been able to play these pieces at home as they may have played vocal selections published with piano accompaniment, but music societies, which would have had access to larger numbers of

[427] Lorenzo Da Ponte, trans., "Ah il mio cor: a favorite song as sung by Madm. Banti at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in the serious opera of Evelina" (L. Lavenu, 1797); Antonio Sacchini and Lorenzo Da Ponte, "Ah! voi giusti e sommi dei. A favorite song as sung by Madm Banti" (Longman & Broderip, 1796); "Ah! quel core: a favorite song as sung by Madm. Banti in the serious opera of Evelina" (L. Lavenu, c 1797); Da Ponte, "Ah il mio cor: a favorite song as sung by Madm. Banti at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in the serious opera of Evelina"; Antonio Sacchini and Lorenzo Da Ponte, "O lieto dì. A Favorite Trio as Sung at the King's Theatre ... in ... Evelina, etc. [Short score.]" (Longman & Broderip, 1797); Sacchini and Da Ponte, "Ah! voi giusti e sommi dei. A favorite song as sung by Madm Banti"; Antonio Sacchini and Lorenzo Da Ponte, "Ah quel core. A favortie song, as sung by Madm Banti, etc. [Score.]" (Longman & Broderip, 1796).

[428] For example, "Ah voi giusti e sommi dei" as published by Longman and Broderip is scored for voice with parts for two flutes, an oboe, two violins, a viola, and a bass. This scoring is consistent with the orchestration in the manuscript score. Compare Sacchini and Da Ponte, "Ah! voi giusti e sommi dei. A favorite song as sung by Madm Banti." with Sacchini and Da Ponte, "Evelina," Add. MS 16117, British Library, London.

[429] Simon McVeigh, "London," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (London: Oxford), accessed November 5, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904pg5.

[430] Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England."

string and woodwind players, would have taken them on.[431] "Few musical societies printed their programs," as Stanley Sadie explains, due to the difficulty of nailing down an exact repertoire and roster of performers far enough in advance of the concerts.[432] Thus, it is difficult to tell when and where these specific excerpts from *Évélina* were played. However, we can note that these publications share details of orchestration with the manuscript score, and that they also are printed in identical keys to those in the score. They are of the pieces that were most popular with the audience at full performances of the opera, as indicated in reviews.

The fact that sheet music was published of excerpts from *Évélina* demonstrates that members of the general public in London and beyond were interested in repeating the opera's music at home and in amateur concerts – especially the parts that were sung by the intriguing soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti. Banti's popularity in 1797 and her success in this particular role was due to more than her success as the prima donna at the King's Theatre, where she was celebrated for singing many roles. Banti was not a traditional prima donna. She was talented at bravura singing but was equally at home singing the rather plainer melodic lines of the heroines in Gluck's so-called reform operas. Opera critics frequently remarked upon her "beautiful" or "noble" voice.[433] They also admired her acting prowess and "finely-marked countenance." However, not everything said about Banti was complimentary. Her training had not been traditional, and her

[431] For in depth descriptions of concert life in major European centers of music-making, including London, see : William Weber, "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Id., "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): pp. 678–91; Id., *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[432] Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England," 27.

[433] Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly: Of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century*, 128.

musicianship was often maligned.[434] Lorenzo Da Ponte, who worked at the King's Theatre throughout Banti's tenure and closely collaborated with her to produce operas that would serve as star vehicles for her, mostly focused on Banti's conniving nature and excessive drinking habits.[435] Satirical magazines even suggested that she had taken her place center stage through strategic use of her womanly charms.[436]

Despite the ambivalent way her character and musicianship had been portrayed in the press, Banti was popular with audiences and critics in London in the 1790s partially because of her service to that city and England as a whole shortly after her arrival in London in 1794. After a major British naval victory, in which the British Admiral Lord Howe defeated the French fleet off the coast of Brest, Banti famously sang two British patriotic songs: "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia." These performances were enthusiastically received and cemented her London career.

Ghosting: Banti's Past Haunting Her Future

Theater historian Marvin Carlson has talked about the concept of "theatrical ghosting" in his book *The Haunted Stage*.[437] Audience members remember previous experiences they have had in the theater, and this affects perceptions of new works. As in other cases of operatic divas, the case of Banti shows that Carlson's intuition can even be extended to reviews of the performances, the memories of which inform audiences' future experiences in the theater. We will see in the following discussion of Banti's performance of patriotic songs that the Italian soprano became, quite literally, the voice

[434] I address this topic later in this chapter.

[435] Da Ponte, *Memoirs*, 237.

[436] MADAM BANTI, who they say,/*Behind the scenes* the devil does play/Has learnt the way the town to *lead*,/By *curtsying* very LOW *indeed*. ("On Madam Banti," *Tomahawk or Censor General*, February 3, 1796.)

[437] Marvin A. Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*, Theater: Theory/Text/Performance (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2003).

of British victory. Audience members would not have forgotten her patriotic turn three years later when *Évélina* opened. Rather, their memories of Banti singing these British anthems would have contributed to their appreciation of her stepping into the role of a British princess. The role of Évélina is not an overtly political one. However, the ghosting of Banti's "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the King" gave her performance in the part an additional resonance essential for the opera's success.

Italians in London

Here, it is worthwhile to return to the political context of London in the late 1790s, and especially the role that Italian immigrants played in society. Since the Middle Ages, Italian scholars, musicians, and artists had found work in England. [438] In the late eighteenth century, the Italians living in England, and especially in London, were mostly members of the intellectual elite, and mainly hailed from Northern Italy.[439] Practices of patronage had decreased in the arts, and most Italian artists, composers, and poets were no longer under the employ of and obligation to particular members of London high society. Rather, they formed their own careers on a freelance basis, currying favor with many. Although descriptions by Londoners of Italians in Italy were sometimes less than complimentary,[440] historian Lucio Sponza writes that Italians living in London "were

[438] Terri Colpi, *Italians Forward: A Visual History of the Italian Community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991), 24.

[439] Terri Colpi, *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991), 25.

[440] For descriptions of Italians in Italy written by British authors in the eighteenth century, see the considerable wealth of published diaries and books of observation written during travel on the "Grand Tour." See, for example, Tobias Smollett, *Travels Through France and Italy: Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities*, Travels Through France and Italy: Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities (London: R. Baldwin, 1766); John Northall, *Travels through Italy: Containing New and Curious Observations on That Country* (London: S. Hooper and S. Bladon, 1766); Hester Lynn Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789). There is also considerable recent scholarship on this literature. See, for example, Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the*

scarcely noticed." "After all," he continues, "Italy was never a threat to Britain, and so it fell to other nations to be regarded as the most obnoxious peoples living on earth."[441]

Even if Italians in England were not badly stigmatized, the English often referred to the diverse group of people living in or hailing from the separate states geographically located on the Italian peninsula as "Italians." This verbal habit collapsed together people from vastly different political, social, cultural, and linguistic groups under one imprecise label, and often led to stereotyping detrimental to individuals. A Piedmontese immigrant to London, Giuseppe Baretti,[442] published "An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy" in 1768, in which he tried to clear up British misconceptions by making clear distinctions between what he saw as a culturally unified England and the disjointed Italian nation-states:

> Superficially travellers are apt to speak of [Italians] in the mass, and they cannot fall into a greater mistake. There is very little difference, comparatively speaking, between the several provinces of England, because all their inhabitants live under the same laws, speak dialects of the same tongue much nearer each other than the dialects of Italy, and have a much greater intercourse between themselves than the Italians have had these many ages. No nations, distinguished by different names, vary more from each other in almost every respect than those which go under the common name of Italians.[443]

Renaissance (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820*, Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[441] Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988), 121.

[442] Baretti arrived in London in 1751 and settled there for good in 1765 after 5 years back in Italy. Samuel Johnson's literary circle in London and also worked at the Italian opera. He taught Italian, and an Italian-English dictionary is one of his many important publications. For more on Baretti, see: Iain Fenlon, "Baretti, Giuseppe (Marc'Antonio)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed December 12, 2015, http://proxy.library.XXXX.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/02043; Mario Fubini, "Baretti, Giuseppe," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1964), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-baretti_(Dizionario-Biografico); James P. Mooney, "A Foreigner with a Fruit Knife: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century London" (B.A., Davidson College, 2014).

[443] Giuseppe Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy : With Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers, with Regard to That Country.* (London: T. Davies, 1768), 113.

One interesting indication of London's official view towards foreigners can be found in the legal policy enforced for trials of foreigners in London courts. It was a requirement that half of the jury hearing such cases would be comprised of foreigners. The specific nationalities of the defendants and of the jurors did not make a difference. It was Englishmen versus everyone else.[444] This practice must have been put in place to ensure that fairer trials of foreigners took place. However, this brought with it the implication that while Londoners would be prejudiced against foreign immigrants to London, other foreigners would be able to listen with greater impartiality. Thus, the make-up of juries for trials of foreigners shows simultaneously that London strove to be fair to its immigrant population and that, without the interference of the law, foreigners had the potential to be mistreated. In one particular trial held on September 11, 1799, a foreigner named John Moriarty was tried for theft. Serving on the jury among the foreign contingent were Lorenzo Da Ponte, Domenico Corri, and Leopoldo de Michele, all figures associated with the King's Theatre.[445] In fact, most of the King's Theatre's cast, staff, and orchestra would have been eligible to serve on the foreign half of these London juries, as very few people associated with the company in the 1790s were British by birth.

The Italian soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti was the prima donna of the King's Theatre in the 1790s and as such was one of the most socially visible people associated with the theater. The King's Theatre was a place where foreignness – foreign music, foreign language, foreign singers – was appreciated. British patriotic songs would therefore seem to be out of place. However, Banti's performances of "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" at the King's Theatre were not just British. They were sung in an Italian style

[444] Old Bailey Proceedings, *London Lives, 1690-1800*, t17540424-60 (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 1 October 2015), September 1799, trial of John Moriarty.

[445] Ibid. Da Ponte was the Theatre's house poet, Domenico Corri was a singing teacher and publisher who often published extracts from operas performed at the Theatre, and Leopoldo de Michele was a music copyist on staff. I have not found any evidence to suggest why all three served on the same jury.

– complete with ornamentation – by an Italian singer as part of a performance experience advertised as Italian in nature.

The History of "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia"

By the time Banti sang "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" at the King's Theatre, the two songs had already graced the stages of Britain for fifty years, and as historian Jerry White has written, over the course of the eighteenth century "these two songs… came to epitomize the patriotism of the London theatres."[446] The origin of "God Save the King" is difficult to pinpoint, since its simple, singable tune is not especially distinctive. Its first publication as a complete work, set to patriotic poetry, was in 1744.[447] Its first performance probably took place four years before this publication, at a dinner in honor of the 1743 triumph of Admiral Vernon over the Spanish in Porto Bello, Panama.[448] "God Save the King" moved from a private table to a public venue in 1745, when an arrangement of the piece was composed by the veteran theater composer Thomas Arne and performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.[449] It became a staple of the theater from that moment forward, performed when royalty visited the opera house, when a victory abroad was announced, or even when the fictional plot of a play or opera was thematically related to naval victories. By 1795, a tradition had developed in which theater audiences sang "God Save the King" from their seats along with the cast of whatever production was playing on a given night. This tradition grew so powerful that a

[446] Jerry White, *London In The Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: Vintage, 2012), 310.

[447] Latham, Alison. "God Save the King." The Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2017, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4833/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2942.

[448] Edward Rimbault Dibdin, "The Bi-Centenary of 'Rule Britannia,'" *Music & Letters* 21, no. 3 (July 1, 1940): 275–90.

[449] Latham, "God Save the King [Queen]." Dibdin, "The Bi-Centenary of 'Rule Britannia,'" 275.

scandal broke out when a comic singer and actor at the Drury Lane Theatre did not sing "God Save the King" enthusiastically enough to meet the expectations of the audience.[450]

The history of "Rule Britannia" is easier to trace since we know the exact occasion for which it was composed. Thomas Arne, the same composer who arranged "God Save the King" for its theatrical debut, wrote the original music for the masque *Alfred*, including "Rule Britannia" which served as its finale. With words by the poet James Thomson, *Alfred*, a historical drama, was premiered in 1740 and was revived and revised several times thereafter.[451] Because "Rule Britannia" appeared at the end of each of these iterations as a diegetic song of victory, it was eminently extractable, and it became a patriotic anthem.

Nicholas Mathew explains an eighteenth century notion of *Singbarkeit*, or singability, writing: "to be familiar with these [singable] songs is to be able to sing them, or to be able to imagine singing them."[452] In other words, listeners participated implicitly in performances of these simple, melodic songs.[453] Mathew's immediate referent in this passage is Johann Abram Peter Schultz's 1785 folk song selection *Lieder im Volkston*, but he could just as easily have been talking about "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia." Those who heard the songs wanted to sing them themselves. And they could, in good conscience, regardless of their national identity, by adapting the songs to their

---

[450] The performance in question was of Prince Hoare and Stephen Storace's musical farce "The Prize," whose subject matter was entirely unconnected from themes of war and naval victory, and "God Save the King" was not meant to be sung at the performance. However, the song was "called for" by the audience, an occurrence that was not uncommon during these patriotic times. Bannister wrote to *The True Briton*, the paper in which the accusation was originally published, defending himself and explaining why he did not readily come forward to sing the anthem. Bannister claimed he did not want to be seen "to join in music so serious, as to have repeatedly been called sacred" while in costume as the Apothecary, a ridiculous character in *The Prize*. See "Mr. Bannister's Letter To The Editor of the True Briton, Considered," *The Monthly Mirror*, December 1795.

[451] Latham, "God Save the King [Queen]."

[452] Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven*, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 140.

[453] Ibid., 141.

own uses. "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" have a long history of being appropriated beyond England, where they were incorporated into various genres of music for varied performing forces. "God Save the King" was adapted as a patriotic anthem for the United States and for Norway, and was sung in a German adaptation in honor of Friedrich Wilhelm II in Berlin in 1795.[454] "Rule Britannia" was used by Handel in an oratorio (1746), by Beethoven in a set of variations (1803), and by Wagner in a concert overture (1837). In all of these adaptations, the *music* of the patriotic songs was the object of importance, allowing the British patriotic songs to easily, if ironically, transfer beyond their national boundaries.

Table 11: Italian Translation of "God Save the King"

Italian Translation	**English Original**
Serba il Gran Giorgio, o Dio, (A) Serbalo ai suoi Britanni (B) Per lunga serie d'anni, (B) Dio, conserva il Re. (C) Sempre vittorioso (D) Felice, e glorioso (D) Regni per tua mercè: (C) O Dio, conserva il Re (C)	God save Great George our King (A) Long live our noble King (A) God save the King. (A) Send him victorious (B) Happy and glorious (B) Long to reign over us (B') God save the King (A)

But what about the words? The target language of the first recorded attempt of a direct translation of the English *text* of "God Save the King" was Italian. The translation was published, not by an Italian press, but in London. It was printed with the title, "God Save the King. Inno inglese tradotto in versi italiani," in 1795—the year after Banti's first performance of British patriotic songs. As Table 11 shows, the translation is rather literal, and even contains the Italian cognates of English words essential to the text (vittorioso/victorious and glorioso/glorious). The Italian verses (*settenari*) follow a different rhyme scheme than the original English verses and do not scan with the music.

[454] Ibid., 151.

In fact, the Italian version's first stanza has two lines of text for one line in the English original. It is difficult to sing the translation to the original tune without major manipulations of either the text or the music, and we can conclude that the translation was meant to be read, not sung.[455] Even so, it is plausible that this translation is connected with Banti's performance of the anthem in English the year before. The Italian Banti's public performances of "God Save the King" may have inspired patriotism not only in British citizens such as the reviewer, but also in the members of the Italian immigrant community in London, who would have appreciated the translation of this popular hymn into a language they could more easily comprehend.

Soon after her first performances of this repertoire, Banti became indelibly associated with the song. The strong bond created between the Italian singer and the British patriotic song can be seen in a review from July of 1794. A critic attending a performance at Covent Garden wrote, "Nothing was wanting all night but God Save the King! And that was not given, we suppose, because Banti was not there to sing it."[456] Banti never sang at Covent Garden, so it was not surprising that she was absent from this performance. Other singers at Covent Garden no doubt knew the famous anthem, and most of them had more claim to British citizenship than did Banti, but the patriotic song could not be performed without her.

Newspaper Accounts of Banti's Performance of British Patriotic Songs

Banti's first advertised performance of "God Save the King" occurred on June 3, 1794, two days after Lord Howe's naval victory. However, the chronological proximity of

---

[455] Percy A. Scholes, *God Save the Queen! The History and Romance of the World's First National Anthem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 171–172. It translates literally to: Preserve Great George, O God/ Preserve him for his British [subjects]/ For a long course of years/ O God, save the King./ Always victorious,/ Happy and glorious/ May he reign by your mercy/O God, save the King.

[456] "Theatre - Drury-Lane."

her performance to that victory was purely coincidental, since the news of it had not yet traveled to London.[457] Rather, Banti's performance that day was in honor of the visit of the Royal Family to the King's Theatre for a performance of a double bill of *Semiramide*, with music by Francesco Bianchi and a libretto by Ferdinando Morecchi, and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona* with a libretto by Gennaro Antonio Federico.[458] These works did not have any patriotic resonances for the King's Theatre audience, and they merely represented the popular repertoire that was being performed that season. After Banti demonstrated her skill as an actress, deftly maneuvering between the tragic role of Semiramide and the comic role of Serpina, a celebration of the royal family commenced. The Italian violinist Giornovichi entertained the audience with a violin concerto with "Rule Britannia" interpolated into its theme. Banti followed with a rendition of "God Save the King." According to a critic for the *Morning Chronicle*, "never were the few notes of the anthem so exquisitely uttered!"[459]

When Banti next performed "God Save the King" along with "Rule Britannia," on June 12, the news of Howe's victory had finally reached London, and in fact Howe and his crew would arrive back in England the next day.[460] The performance was part of a series of raucous celebrations of the victory throughout the city in the theaters and on the streets. A writer for the *Times* proudly reported:

> At the Opera House, the Band, with a noble crash, struck up "Rule Britannia." The sublimest efforts of the most celebrated Composers never excited more enthusiastic admiration than this popular air did from the Amateurs of Old England. "God save the King" succeeded—BANTI,

---

[457] An article in the *Times* comments upon the velocity with which the news has reached England on June 12. See "HONOUR- GLORY - VICTORY!!!!," *Times*, June 12, 1794.

[458] *La Serva Padrona* is the intermezzo that sparked the *querelle des bouffons*, and is therefore an example of music considered to be quintessentially Italian, as opposed to French.

[459] "Opera House," *Morning Chronicle*, June 4, 1794.

[460] David Syrett, *Admiral Lord Howe*, Library of Naval Biography (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006), 135.

> MORICHELLI, MORELLI, and ROVEDINO,[461] with all the energies of "heart" as well as voice, joined the loyal strain.[462]

The Italian origin of all of the performers is evident from their names, but according to the reviewer, the singers' foreign birth did not prevent them from fully participating, musically, but also emotionally, in the performances.

Exactly one week later, Banti would perform the anthems again. If the performance on June 12 had been a spontaneous outburst of patriotic fervor in immediate response to the joyous news of naval victory, the performance of the 19th was a scrupulously planned affair, as made evident by the extravagant wording of an advertisement published in the *Morning Herald* on June 17:

> On Thursday next, the 19th instant, there will be given, in celebration of the Glorious Victory of his Majesty's Fleet over the Fleet of the French, AN OPERA AND RIDOTTO IN GALA, After the manner of the Great Theatre of S. Carlos, at Naples, on Gala Nights.[463]

This celebration of British victory was patterned after customs of the Neapolitan theaters with which Banti had first-hand experience from her time singing there. In fact, Banti herself was instrumental in planning the London gala.[464] The evening was a multi-part extravaganza, beginning with another performance of *La serva padrona*. Following the opera, the overtly patriotic part of the evening commenced. Giornovichi again played his "Rule Britannia"-inspired violin concerto. Next came Paisiello's cantata *La Vittoria*,

---

[461] The Bolognese soprano Anna Morichelli arrived in London on the same ship as Banti, and the two vied for the affection of the audience at the King's Theatre during the one season they sang together (1774-5). Banti won. See: Dorothea Link, "La Cantante Anna Morichelli, Paladín de Vicente Martín Y Soler," in *Los Siete Mundos de Vicente Martín Y Soler: Actas Del Congreso Internacional, Valencia, 14-18 Noviembre 2006* (Valencia: Institut Valencià--Generalitat Valenciana, 2010), 328–62. Giovanni Morelli was a bass at the King's Theatre throughout the 1790s, who was lauded for his acting abilities. See P.H. Highfill, K.A. Burnim, and E.A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, v. 10 (Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 305. Carlo Rovedino was another King's Theatre Bass. See: P.H. Highfill, K.A. Burnim, and E.A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, A Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses, 1660-1800 Series, v. 13 (Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 119.

[462] "HONOUR- GLORY - VICTORY!!!!" *Times*, June 12, 1794.

[463] "King's Theatre," *Morning Herald*, June 17, 1794.

[464] Genesi, "Nuove testimonianze sul soprano monticellese Giorgi-Banti."

"adapted to the glorious occasion of the Triumph of the British Flag" by none other than Lorenzo Da Ponte. Banti sang the allegorical role of "Victory" accompanied by an all-male chorus, and the cantata was paired with a complementary ballet. At the conclusion of the formal portion of the proceedings, Banti sang "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the King."[465] Next was the ball, advertised in British papers with the Italianate term *ridotto in gala*, with musicians playing country-dances while food and beverages were served.[466] The scenery and decorations for the affair were advertised as new for the occasion, and they were so elaborate that the second gallery of the theater needed to be closed to the public to allow for illumination equipment to be set up in the space.

To summarize, the program for the lavish evening at the King's Theatre in honor of a British victory was an Italian opera, an Italian cantata with a ballet (ironically by the French master Jean-Georges Noverre[467]), and an imitation of an Italian gala entertainment. The violinist, Giornovichi, was Italian, as was the stage designer, Marinari, and even the dancer, Madame del Caro, who "danced a Hornpipe with inimitable grace" in the ballet.[468] However, reviews of these performances make no mention of the predominantly foreign style the King's Theatre exhibited in its celebration

---

[465] "King's Theatre," June 17, 1794. "Rule Britannia was definitely sung on June 19. "God Save the King" was not listed in this particular advertisement but was mentioned in reviews of subsequent performances of a similar program.

[466] "Ridotto" literally means "reduced." Charles Burney identified an early use of the term "ridotto" referring to musical entertainment as early as 1722 in London. "Ridotto in gala" seems to be a less common term. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 955.

[467] The choreographer Noverre's status as a Frenchman passed unnoticed in this milieu, perhaps because of his long history of choreography in England, and at the King's Theatre in particular. For discussions of Noverre's choreography and his time in England, see histories of opera and dance in London, such as: Ian Woodfield, *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London the King's Theatre, Garrick and the Business of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Edward Nye, *Mime, Music and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Ballet d'action* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell. "Noverre, Jean-Georges." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2017, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4833/subscriber/article/grove/music/20148.; Deryck Lynham, *The Chevalier Noverre: Father of Modern Ballet* (Binsted, Hampshire: Dance Books, 1972).

[468] "Opera," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1794.

of British victory, and they are overwhelmingly positive. In fact, one review began, "On the occasion of the glorious victory obtained by our Grand Fleet over the French, the King's Theatre gave last night one of the most tasteful and elegant entertainments we ever witnessed," and praised Banti's cosmopolitan charm, saying that her "vocal talents have endeared her to every country."[469] It is as though cosmopolitanism were considered a natural and constructive aspect of London life, with the appropriation of Italian cultural capital a positive side effect.

The case of Madame del Caro's hornpipe dance exemplifies the intensively interconnected nature of British and Italian influences on the stage of the King's Theatre. Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, an Italian dancing master who made his home in London, wrote in his 1772 *Treatise on the Art of Dancing,* "In Britain, you have the hornpipe, a dance which is held an original of this country."[470] Gallini went on to intimate that Italians "imitatively performed" the dance in Italy, a rare example of Italian music-making following the example of the British, rather than the other way around.[471] The hornpipe was also associated with seamen, as the *Grove Music Dictionary* of 1906 explained, "probably due to its requiring no partners, and occupying but little dancing space—qualities essential on shipboard."[472] Thus a hornpipe is an appropriate style of music for celebrating a British naval victory. However, as mentioned above, the dancer was Italian. Madame del Carlo, who was a member of the King's Theatre ballet along with her sister, was famous for dancing hornpipes, which had by the 1790s become staples of the theater repertoire. In fact, the hornpipe she danced during the *ridotto in*

[469] "Opera," June 24, 1794.

[470] Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (London, 1772), 182.

[471] Ibid.

[472] Frank Kidson, "Hornpipe," ed. John Alexander Fuller-Mailand and Waldo Seldon Pratt, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Company, 1906).

gala, memorialized in print in at least one publication citing that performance,[473] was sometimes called simply "Del Caro's hornpipe."[474]

This example of an Italian dancing to a British tune showcases one side of Anglo-Italian relations at the King's Theatre—Italian artists like Del Caro and Banti were utilized to amuse British audiences, as they had for years. As Amy Dunegan convincingly demonstrates, since the late seventeenth century the English had aligned their talents with the "sense" and cleverness of spoken drama and while relying on Italian artistry for what Dunegan calls "sound," and which could more broadly be perceived as the part of performance unrelated to logos.[475] It was a point of pride for the British to showcase virtuosity, even if it was not natively cultivated. Italian talent was a "foreign luxury" and the fact that Britain could import it and have it take root at home in turn flaunted a talent for global trade in which the British took great pride.[476]

Banti's singing of "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" is of course a parallel case; an Italian singer is imported to London to sing Italian opera, and on the occasion of a British naval victory she is called upon to sing two British patriotic songs. We do not know much about Madame del Caro's interpretation of the British hornpipe, but we know more about Banti's interpretation of the songs—enough to postulate that Banti did not simply provide entertainment for the British audiences by augmenting British musical offerings with the brilliance of Italian sound. Banti took ownership of the songs, asserting her original sense into the sound in the form of ornamentation in a performance that no one could truly imitate.

---

[473] Francis Latour, *The Favourite Hornpipe Danced by Madame Del Caro at the King's Theatre Hay Market in the Cantata of La Vittoria with Variations for the Piano Forte Violin and Flute* (New York: Paff's Music Warehouse, 1802).

[474] J.L. Dussek, ed., *Del Caro's Hornpipe* (Dublin: B. Cooke, n.d.).

[475] Dunegan, "Secularization, National Identity, and the Baroque: Italian Music in England, 1660-1711," 199.

[476] Ibid., 239.

Although, as we have noted, the reviews of the *ridotto in gala* did not overtly comment on the Italian nationality of the performers, they did contain information about the Italianate musical style in which the British patriotic songs were sung. A reviewer for the *Morning Chronicle* observed, "BANTI sings 'God save Great George our King' with that enchanting taste which makes it altogether a new song." After describing the dances and stage action, the same reviewer told his readers that the program "concludes with 'Rule Britannia,' which BANTI also sings in a style so peculiarly her own, as to enchant every heart." Rather than complaining that Banti has deformed the popular songs through her act of appropriation, reviewers applauded the Italian singer's taste:

> It is impossible to conceive the rapture with which this elegant compliment to the KING and the British Navy was received by the Theatre, which was most splendid, and to the charming BANTI every hand was raised, and *bravo*, *bravo*, was echoed from every box.

—an Italian adulation bestowed on an Italian artist.[477]

The Written Afterlife of Banti's Performances

Live performances are ephemeral, but transcriptions of such performances can freeze them in time and allow for re-listenings and analyses. Corri, Dussek & Co., a publishing company run by the famous Italian voice teacher and composer Domenico Corri[478] and

[477] "Opera," June 24, 1794.

[478] Domenico Corri, born in Rome in 1746, studied harpsichord, violin, and voice as a young child and played instrumental music at Roman theaters. Perhaps it was this early experience that led him to focus on theatrical vocal music later in life. He married a singer around 1770, and in 1771 the two moved to Edinburgh, where they lived for eighteen years. In Edinburgh, Corri began his career as a music publisher. Soon the firm became known as Corri and Sutherland, and it stayed in business from 1780 to 1790. When his partner in publishing, James Sutherland, died in 1790, Corri moved to London. The Corris were already familiar with London from when they visited in 1774 to see an opera Domenico had composed, entitled *Alessandro nell'Indie,* premiere at the King's Theatre. It seems that Domenico Corri began his second publishing business almost immediately upon his arrival in London. For a more complete biography, see Peter Ward Jones and Rachel E. Cowgill, "Domenico Corri," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 8, 2015, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/06565.

his son-in-law, the Bohemian pianist Jan Dussek,[479] printed the scores for "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia," complete with Banti's graces and ornaments.[480]

There were numerous performances in London every night, and Corri, Dussek, and Co. specialized in publishing vocal selections from these events. Their catalogue included many arias and scenes extracted from operas performed at the King's Theatre. Corri specialized in vocal technique. In 1810, he published *The Singer's Preceptor*, which was intended to instruct young people not only in how to sing correctly, but how to correctly study singing. Corri's emphasis was on proper vocal pedagogy, and he discouraged pupils from rushing ahead in their training, neglecting tenets of basic musicianship, and ornamenting melodies before carefully learning the proper usages of ornamentation.[481] In his three-volume *Preceptor*, Corri mentioned several famous singers, but he never mentioned Brigida Banti by name. This is not all that surprising, since Banti had stopped performing in London eight years before the publication of Corri's treatise. However, Corri, who knew Banti personally and had published many scores of operatic extracts headed with her name, seems to have had Banti in mind while writing a serious admonition to his young reader-singers:

---

[479] Dussek, born in 1760 in Čáslav, had traveled around Europe, earning acclaim for his piano playing wherever he went. In 1786, he ended up in Paris, but because he was beloved by the French Court, including Marie Antoinette, it was dangerous for him to remain there during the French Revolution. He therefore moved to London, where he lived from 1788 to 1799. There he met and married Sophia Giustina Corri, Domenico's daughter, who was a singer, harpist, and pianist in her own right. When the two got married in 1792, Dussek joined Corri's firm, and the name became Corri, Dussek, and Co. See Howard Allen Craw, "Jan Ladislav Dussek," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 8, 2015, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/44229; Howard Allen Craw and Bonnie Shaljean, "Sophia (Giustina) Dussek [née Corri; Later Moralt]," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 8, 2015, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/44229.

[480] *God Save the King: As Sung by Sigra. Banti, at the King's Theatre Haymarket, for the Commemoration of Lord Howe's Victory of the 1st June 1794 with Her Graces and Ornaments.* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co., 1794); *When Britain First at Heav'ns Command* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co, 1800).

[481] Domenico Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London, England: Chappell & Co. Music Sellers, 1810).

> I advise in order to facilitate your acquirement of these two studies [of intonation and time] that you forbear to sing any thing like a Melody or Air learned by Ear; I confess it to be a hard privation, particularly the captivating Airs sung by good Singers, for the impression reaches the Heart, and like love creates the desire of possession.[482]

It was common knowledge, or at least a powerful rumor at the time, that Banti learned her repertoire by ear. Banti had her start as performer, singing first on the streets of Venice and then in Paris coffee shops before she was discovered and added to the roster at the Parthenon Theatre in London. She never quite had the time to become a trained musician during her rapid rise to fame.[483] Singer and director Michael Kelly extolled Banti's voice while simultaneously lamenting her lack of training, calling her simply "no musician."[484] The Earl of Mount Edgecumbe wrote of Banti in his *Musical Reminiscences* of 1827:

> Genius in her seemed to supply the want of science; and the most correct ear, with the most exquisite taste, enabled her to sing with more effect, expression, and apparent knowledge of her art, than many a better singer. She never was a good musician, nor could sing at sight with ease; but having once learnt a song and mastered its character, she threw into it deeper pathos and truer feeling than any of her rivals.[485]

Banti sang by ear, unable to fully engage with printed scores—exactly the kind of singer that Corri warned his students not to become.

If Corri's transcriptions are accurate—if the notes on the page correspond to the exact manner in which Banti sang the songs—Banti also did not follow the strict rules of ornamentation that Corri taught his students. For example, Corri advised his students to

---

[482] Ibid., 49.

[483] George Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Opera in Italy, France, Germany, and England* (London: R. Bentley, 1851), 180.

[484] Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly: Of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century*, 128.

[485] Richard Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur: Chiefly Respecting the Italian Opera in England for Fifty Years, from 1773 to 1823.* (London: W. Clarke, 1827), 83. Edgecumbe's recollections about Banti were subsequently subsumed into *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, a standard reference for all topics musical since 1878.

only add ornaments on important words. According to his transcription, Banti ornaments the word "the," a mere definite article, in "God Save the King."[486]

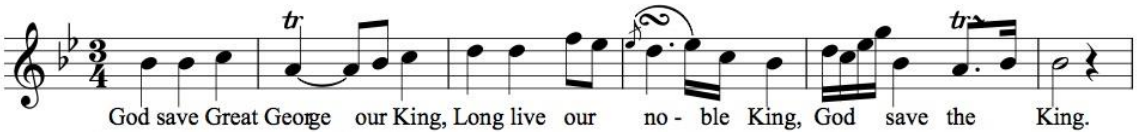


Figure 10: Transcription of the ornamented vocal line of "God Save the King"[487]

This is not the only contradiction between Corri's teaching and his publishing practice. Corri believed that amateur singers should not imitate professionals.[488] However, the "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" publications, with their transcriptions of Banti's virtuosic stylings, give musically literate amateurs the tools to do just that. To reconcile these apparent contradictions, it is important to remember the practical considerations that affected all musical production in London. Corri needed to be a businessman first and foremost to keep his publishing company solvent. It is thus unsurprising that he would publish the ornaments and graces of a singer who was popular with the public even if he did not admire her himself.

Corri, Dussek, and Co.'s publications of Banti's renditions of British patriotic songs followed fast on the heels of Banti's successes with these pieces in the theater.[489] The first page of each of the scores for the songs is taken up in large part by their extensively descriptive titles. After the immediate title of the songs, "God Save the King" or "Rule Britannia," the titles of the two pieces are identical:

> As Sung by Sig.ra Banti,
> At the King's Theatre Haymarket
> For the Commemoration of Lord Howe's Victory of the 1.st June 1794,
> Publish'd by Permission with her Graces & Ornaments

---

[486] *God Save the King* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co., 1794).

[487] Ibid.

[488] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music*, 105.

[489] *God Save the King* (Corri, Dussek & Co., 1794); *When Britain First at Heav'ns Command* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co, 1800).

By Corri, Dussek, & Co. Music Sellers to Her Majesty
No. 67 Dean Street, Soho, London, & Bridge Street Edinburgh.[490]

The phraseology of the title, which lists the piece "as sung by" the singer "at the King's Theatre" "for" the historical event, places it firmly in a place and time. However, although the score is tied to a particular historical moment, Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet on June 1st of 1794, it is not tied to a particular performance. There is no mention of what date or dates Banti performed these pieces with these published ornaments. Banti performed these pieces often and in a variety of contexts. The ornaments and graces are cited as being by Banti and were published with her permission. However, ornaments, by definition, are mutable. They are improvisatory in nature, even if there are certain guidelines for singing them "correctly," such as those that Corri laid out in his *Singer's Preceptor*.[491]

This leaves open several possibilities. Banti could have sung these ornaments on a particular occasion, unnamed in the score; the ornaments could have been completely fabricated by Corri; or the ornaments in the score could have effectively summarized all of the ornaments Banti was accustomed to sing in such performances. The "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" scores, as published by Corri, Dussek, & Co., only set a single verse to music. The text to the later verses is printed at the bottom of the score. It would have been highly unusual for Banti to have sung the first verse of each of these songs in an ornamented manner and then to have reverted to the original melody. It would also be surprising if Banti had ornamented every verse in an identical manner. This lends plausibility to the final hypothesis—the ornaments recorded by Corri and set to one verse of each patriotic song were probably an amalgamation of ornaments that Banti was accustomed to sing across several verses.

---

[490] Ibid.

[491] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music*.

The patriotic songs are printed on four staves—two for the piano accompaniment, one for the original melody of each piece, and one for a purported transcription of Banti's live performance. This ornamented vocal line widens the range of the pieces, and turns the melodies that common folk could sing with patriotic fervor into displays of technical control and vocal prowess. The highly melismatic nature of this rendition would have obscured the English words that Banti sang. In her renditions of "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia," words needed to be lengthened to accommodate the additional ornamental pitches, stretching out the vowels and obscuring the consonants. As such, the audience would have been hard-pressed to tell whether Banti was singing in English, the language of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or Italian, the language of the King's Theatre.

Two critics commented on Banti's enunciation of the text, but their observations are at odds. An anonymous writer at the *Morning Chronicle* writes that on June 4, 1794, Banti sang "God Save the King" "with as perfect articulation, as if she were a native of England."[492] William Thomas Parke, a professional musician who recorded his recollections of London performances in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century in his *Musical Memoirs*, wrote that although Banti's July 2, 1794 performance of "Rule Britannia" was "vociferously encored," "her bad English amounted almost to burlesque." Parke's only conclusion is "that fashion, like love, is blind."[493] Either the earlier writer was blinded by fashion, or Banti's mastery of the English language deteriorated markedly in the course of less than one month.

It is possible to reconstruct the basic make-up of the audience at the King's Theatre in 1794 from subscriber lists. It is more difficult to determine who would have purchased

[492] "Opera House," June 4, 1794.

[493] William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs: Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from 1784, to the Year 1830* (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), 190.

the printed scores that documented Banti's performances. It is clear from the way the titles appear on the scores that they are also souvenirs: keepsakes from a particular occasion. In this sense, the scores would have been valuable documents even to someone who did not read music, sing, or play an instrument, and could not fully utilize the potential of the musical notation. However, even musically illiterate Londoners could look beyond the title to see at a glance the groupings of small notes crammed into each measure of Banti's musical line that indicated her performance's complexity and uniqueness. Banti's Italian artistry is thus preserved visually on the page, even for someone who could not hear it or reproduce it. These representations of Banti's performances capitalized upon the popularity of her appearances at the King's Theatre and the intense buzz of excitement over Howe's victory, which took months to die down. The enthusiasm for British patriotism and the associated patriotic songs was still so strong even six months after the battle that a rival publishing house published another copy of Banti's rendition of "Rule Britannia," this time for full band.[494]

Some consumers were surely amateur musicians who would have desired to reproduce the sound of the pieces and used the score as more than a souvenir. The piano part and the simple vocal line printed in the scores could both have been performed by amateur musicians, and the scores therefore took part in the burgeoning bourgeois parlor-music market of the late eighteenth century.[495] Both pieces exhibit similar levels of difficulty and are fit for amateur students of piano. "God Save the King" in its standard

[494] "New Music," *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, December 6, 1794. In fact, Londoners' memories of the victory and fondness for Lord Howe seem to have been partially kept alive by a variety of aestheticizations of the event, including theatrical performances and paintings of the battles. In June of 1795, there was even a large panorama set up designed to recreate the Glorious First of June with precision, with "an exact Representation of every Ship in the BRITISH and FRENCH FLEETS as they appeared at One o'Clock P.M. on that day." (See: "First of June," *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, June 10, 1795.)

[495] London was a major producer of keyboard instruments in the late eighteenth century, which made the instruments more readily available for home use. Michael Kassler, ed., *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

form is a simple song, with a binary form AB, where A and B are 6- and 8-bar sections, respectively. In order for Banti to have time to ornament the tune properly, the form of the piece was expanded out to a more repetitive AABB structure. The text would have sounded:

> God Save Great George, our King,
> Long Live our noble King,
> God save the King.
> God Save Great George, our King,
> Long Live our noble King,
> God save the King.
> Send him victorious,
> Happy and glorious,
> Long to reign over us,
> God save the King.
> Send him victorious,
> Happy and glorious,
> Long to reign over us,
> God save the King.

If an amateur vocalist were singing this simple version, without any graces or ornaments but with all of the verses for which the text was printed in the score, his or her performance would sound quite dull and repetitive indeed. Untrained singers may also have ambitiously attempted the ornamented version printed on the top staff, following the lead of Banti, the amateur prima donna.

"A Country Gentleman" Showcases Hidden Sentiments

In February of 1796, the *Tomahawk*, a short-lived comic publication that from 1795 to 1796 claimed to "discuss with candour and spirit, every LEADING TOPIC OF THE MOMENT," published a letter to the Editor that reviewed one of Banti's patriotic performances on an uncited date. The letter was from a from a recurrent, most likely fictional character in the *Tomahawk,* known only as the "Country Gentleman," who frequently submitted his opinions on city matters. The letter from the Country Gentleman is the only extensive negative review of Banti's performance of British

patriotic songs that was published. As such, it is worthy of note despite the *Tomahawk*'s farcical nature.

In his letter, the Gentleman takes issue with opera-going in general, which he finds soporific in the extreme, commenting on the affected behavior of those individuals, his daughter included, who try to surreptitiously stifle their yawns during performances. Next, he moves on to Banti, whom he admits is "at present the great vocal constellation in the musical hemisphere."[496] It is then that he closes out his letter with a vivid critique of her performance of "Rule Britannia":

> For my own part (perhaps I ought to blush at the confession) I had rather hear an honest sailor sing "Rule Britannia," than all the squalings [*sic*], screwings, writhings, and distortions, of twenty Madam Bantis put together. This certainly shews my want of taste, and you find I am ready to confess it; but I have heard my little daughter Julia sing two or three simple Scotch tunes, which have made me cry like a child; and I have heard and seen Madam Banti's squaling [*sic*] and distortions, which have made me laugh like a fool.
>
> I hope, however, these observations will have neither the one effect nor the other on you which the cause of them had on, MR. TOMAHAWK, yours, &c.[497]

Although this diatribe is obviously written as a humorous piece, the author makes important observations as well. Firstly, there is the comparison the Country Gentleman makes between an "honest sailor," his "little daughter Julia," and Banti. The first two referents are British, and the last is Italian. The first two are amateurs, and the last is a professional. The first two, it is implied, would sing the British songs simply and clearly, and it is this that would provoke true emotion. In Banti's case, the singer "distorts" the song, presumably with her ornaments, which provokes, the Country Gentleman reports, alternately slumber and derision. Thus, while advertisements for and official reviews of Banti's performances of patriotic songs deny the dissonance between her Italian

[496] "To the Editor of the Tomahawk," *Tomahawk or Censor General*, February 12, 1796.

[497] Ibid.

nationality and the celebration of a purely British victory and patriotism, the Country Gentleman acknowledges it. In his view, true British citizens should sing the patriotic songs as they were meant to be sung, simply and without modification or affectation. This humorous piece reveals what the more formal reviews succeeded in glossing over—that cosmopolitanism and patriotism may create tensions when they mix.

Conclusion

Banti's patriotic performances speak to the state of Anglo-Italian relations in London in the late 1790s. Banti's frequent performances of the British patriotic songs "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" were in celebration of British royalty and British naval victory and were covered in widely circulated newspapers that, for the most part, lauded her renditions. Her Italianate vocal ornaments became British when Corri, Dussek, and Co. transcribed, published, and sold them in London.

All Italian opera in London, including Banti's performances of the British patriotic songs and in the role of Évélina, could have been viewed as a foreign interloper, inherently unpatriotic and threatening. However, Britain embraced Italian opera as valuable cultural capital and saw the country's ability to import such works, along with the mostly Italian cast and staff of the King's Theatre, as an indication of its status as a major world power. Banti's performances of British patriotic songs, just like the King's Theatre production of *Arvire et Évélina* were carefully arranged to combine British and Italian elements in a way that would promote a British political message through the emotionally powerful medium of Italian opera. In both cases, acts of both cultural and linguistic translation bridged agents of production, circulation, and reception to take part in a European cosmopolitanism in which nationalism could also find its full voice.

CONCLUSION

Translation has played an integral role throughout opera history, adapting works to new audiences and mediating between disparate places, languages, times, and cultures, as opera has circulated around the world.[498] The case of Da Ponte's translation work at the King's Theatre during the late 1790s forms one link in this long and complex history. Da Ponte was a poet who was passionate about the inherent beauty of the Italian language and the important tradition of Italian literature and theater. However, he was also a man – an immigrant striving to make a life for himself away from home; a worker of modest means striving to do better for himself and for his family. Da Ponte's life brought him in close contact with royalty and thieves in turn, people who could recite reams of poetry by heart and those who could not spell a word; people who spoke seven languages, and people who struggled to speak one.

Da Ponte may have preferred to write his own poetry – opera libretti that would bring him fame and glory across geographic divides, like the operas he wrote with Mozart – but his financial situation did not always allow him to pick and choose his work.[499] He needed to continually impress those who paid him for his services (his patrons and employers), those who performed his operas, and those who paid to see them performed. The warnings and apologies he appended to his translations of

[498] To name just a few examples of important opera translations before the era of supertitles: Cavalli's opera *Erismena* was performed in English translation in 1670 London; audiences in eighteenth century Vienna were sold Italian opera libretti in German translation; and Donizetti revised his French opera *La Fille du Régiment*, setting it to an Italian translation performed at La Scala in 1840. (See: David Stuart and Greg Skidmore, "Cavalli's Erismena," *Early Music* 38, no. 3 (August 1, 2010): 482–83, doi:10.1093/em/caq068.; James J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Libretti: The Musical Theater from 1598 to Today* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984).; and William Ashbrook. "Fille du régiment, La." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera. Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press., respectively.)

[499] In Chapter 2, I discuss in detail how Da Ponte viewed different kinds of writing, translating, and adapting work in relation to one another.

Iphigénie en Tauride for Vienna[500] and *La belle Arsène* for London, and the anecdotes about translation he included in his *Memorie* and in *An Extract* all attest to the overwhelming attention Da Ponte gave to minute details in these translation tasks that served an essential function, but often called for menial labor. In his translation work, Da Ponte served as a mediator, not only between languages, but between cultures, classes, and even political systems.

Today, although the position of "house poet" no longer exists in any opera company, translation work in opera is still of the utmost importance. Opera companies today are actively recruiting new audiences and strengthening their core audience groups, fighting against the notion that opera is a dying art form. However, most companies fail to adequately address one element of production that greatly affects the experience of English-speaking audience members: the translation of the operatic repertoire. Da Ponte wrote singable Italian translations from French originals for Vienna and London. Today, in the English-speaking world, opera translators mostly transform singable libretti in a number of different languages (most commonly Italian, French, German, Russian, and Czech) into unsingable English forms. Despite the differences between the tasks of Da Ponte in late eighteenth-century Europe and of opera translators today in the English-speaking world, there are a surprising number of similarities.

As we saw in Chapter 1, in the late eighteenth century, an opera such as *Iphigénie en Tauride* could undergo many transformations in a short period of time because of the way in which people, words, and objects circulated around cosmopolitan Europe. The repertoire system in place in today's opera world ensures that there are a core group of operas that are performed season after season in opera houses throughout the world.

[500] I discuss Da Ponte's note about his *Iphigénie* translation on page 42 and his note about his *La belle Arsène* translation on page 103.

Opera circulates today with ease and with great speed, due to technological developments and the economic viability of collaborations between opera companies worldwide. Thus, reception histories grow exponentially every year, building ever more complex layers of local and global meaning.

Chapter 2 emphasized issues of authorship in its exploration of Da Ponte's claim to have authored the translation of *Zémire et Azor* that appeared in London in 1796 in addition to that of *La belle Arsène* for the 1795 King's Theatre production. Da Ponte's erasure of Mattia Verazi, the true translator of *Zémire et Azor* showed how vulnerable translators were to being denied both the fame and the accountability that attribution provides. Likewise, today opera companies and translators alike often obscure the sources of opera translations, leading to unfair compensation of translators' labor as well as audience confusion over the rhyme and reason for translation choices (or even the knowledge that choices were made at all).

Chapter 3 presented the case of *Évélina*, an opera whose subject-matter spoke to the patriotic nature of the times and of Banti, an Italian soprano, who adopted and transformed the expression of British patriotism by making it her own. *Évélina* was translated and adapted for London audiences so that its message could shine through the foreign trappings of its French libretto and lengthy recitatives. Today, tampering with the words or music of an opera is not in fashion, and the same operas, made new only through directors' conceptions and artists' performances, are presented to very different audiences around the world. The mismatch between the cultural context in which any given opera was premiered and the cultural context in which that same opera is performed today, along with the fact that operas are now adapted only rarely, results in misunderstandings and botched receptions that could otherwise be avoided.

In this conclusion, I demonstrate the importance of these issues across time and space by drawing connections between the task of a translator like Da Ponte in eighteenth century London and that of modern opera translators in the English-speaking world today.[501] It would be useful for opera critics, opera company upper management personnel, and opera translators themselves to think of opera translation as a continuous practice, recognize its long history, and learn from the past.

Circulation and the Question of the Vernacular

Throughout the history of the genre, most instances of opera in translation have involved the original, or source text, being translated into a target text in the vernacular language of the audience. In this way, translation helped to domesticate foreign cultural products, making them more accessible to the ears of local audience members.

Da Ponte expressed his belief that vernacular translations would be useful, especially in Vienna, in his *Anweisung für den Theaterbetrieb*, writing that "in a land where the Italian language is a foreign language, it is extremely necessary to translate the opera into German."[502] However, he went along with the tradition of the King's Theatre and translated the operas that are the focus of this dissertation from their original language (French) into a second language (Italian) that was certainly not the vernacular language of the audience (English). In the late eighteenth century in London, what audiences wanted was to hear opera in Italian because the opera's very foreignness was what gave it its prestige.

---

[501] Lucile Desblache gives a detailed summary of translation practices throughout opera history in her article "Music to My Ears, but Words to My Eyes," including a discussion of surtitling practices. Her article advocates for surtitlists to get the recognition they deserve for making opera more accessible, thereby extending the art form's life. Lucile Desblache, "Music to My Ears, but Words to My Eyes? Text, Opera and Their Audiences," *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 6, no. LA-NS 6/2007 (2007): 155–71.

[502] Quoted and translated in Apter and Herman, *Translating for Singing*, xiv.

The cosmopolitan nature of eighteenth-century Vienna, Paris, and London meant that people traveled to cities, and also from city to city, bringing with them many goods and services, among them: languages, literatures, musics, and customs. This resulted in multicultural and multilingual city centers, which influenced people of all classes. Artists like Da Ponte and Banti did not have considerable personal wealth, but their talents made them employable by the wealthy and titled members of society. The wealthy themselves went on Grand Tours of Europe, viewing historic landmarks and great works of art, and even considered the poor, peasant classes abroad as novel objects of study. The middle classes did not perhaps participate in this cultural exchange as directly as did poor immigrants or the well-traveled elite, but they were exposed to it all the same. French invaded English vocabulary in London, Viennese civil servants required knowledge of the court language of Italian, and the opera served as a destination both for the viewing of foreign goods and for the expression of local pride.

Globalization in the twenty-first century has wrought a similar coming together of cultures. Victor Roudometof coined the term "glocalization" to describe the phenomenon of people who do not live transnational lives themselves, but who nevertheless experience a transformation of their lives due to globalization.[503] Eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism meant that speakers of different languages often came into contact and interacted whether by becoming fully bilingual or multilingual, by becoming basically competent in more than one language, or at least by cobbling together phrases from several languages to make themselves understood (like Gluck, in Salieri's description).[504] Globalization today has made certain languages dominant. English is one such language. A 2007 *New York Times* article began, almost

[503] Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization," *Current Sociology* 53, no. 1 (January 2005): 1, doi:10.1177/0011392105048291.

[504] For a discussion of Salieri's description of Gluck's speech, see page 25.

triumphantly, "Riding the crest of globalization and technology, English dominates the world as no language ever has, and some linguists are now saying it may never be dethroned as the king of languages."[505]

Although this prediction is by no means guaranteed, English does seem to be an official language of more and more international organizations. English supertitles are available in most opera houses in the United States and England, but also in many European houses where operagoers might visit from abroad. These travelers may not be from Anglophone countries. For example, a native speaker of Norwegian might be visiting Madrid. In this example, the Teatro Réal cannot afford to offer titles in Norwegian and every other language that potential visitors might speak, but they can afford to offer supertitles in English as well as in Spanish, assuming that visitors who do not speak Spanish have a high likelihood of being able to understand English. Just like Italian was the language in demand for singable translations in Da Ponte's time, English is the language in demand for opera supertitles today. The reason most often cited for translations being provided in English, a type of global vernacular, is that opera must be understood to be made accessible.

Accessibility and the Vernacular

Discussions of accessibility may seem out of place in reference to opera, which has long been considered an elitist art form. Part of opera's allure has historically been its association with royalty, and its reliance on large casts, staffs, and crews, opulent costumes and scenery, and even costly machinery, making productions expensive to mount. It is precisely the expensive nature of opera that makes accessibility so important

[505] Seth Mydans, "Across Cultures, English Is the Word," *The New York Times*, April 9, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/09/world/asia/09iht-englede.1.5198685.html.

in the present day. Wealthy patrons no longer provide sufficient support to keep companies afloat, and it is important for opera companies to diversify their revenue streams and their audiences alike. Francie Ostrower's ethnography of trustees of cultural institutions reveals the power of translation to attract more people to opera, which, in turn, ensures its survival. She writes, "The very purpose of supertitles is to make opera more accessible and trustees support their use precisely because they are seen as a way to 'get more people interested.' Attracting more people, in turn, is seen as critical to maintaining the economic viability of the opera."[506]

Supertitles, which serve a similar role to that of subtitles for foreign film, have the capacity to succinctly provide the important semantic content to an audience who does not speak the source language. At the King's Theatre in London, although all operas were sung in Italian, they were also accessible in the vernacular through the publication of an English translation side by side with the Italian version. As such, the practice of reading a translation while listening to the foreign-language original has been in place for centuries. Supertitles are meant to improve this practice by ensuring that all audience members read at the same pace and that their reading lines up with the text being sung. There is the potential to fall behind or get lost in a printed libretto translation, but supertitles do not allow audiences to dwell on a line of text for longer than it takes for the singer to sing it. This promotes a shared audience experience, but also a passive one.

Laziness

When supertitles, or surtitles, as they were first called when they were debuted on a large scale at the Canadian Opera Company in 1983, first arrived on the scene, many

[506] Francie Ostrower, *Trustees of Culture: Power, Wealth, and Status on Elite Arts Boards* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), 30–31.

music critics were viscerally repulsed by the concept. One of their major critiques was that supertitles promoted a certain kind of laziness in the audience members.

David Pountney of the English National Opera (ENO) famously referred to supertitles as "celluloid condoms between the audience and the immediate gratification of understanding,"[507] colorfully implying that the mediating function that the titles provided dulled the experience of the audience. In 1989, Robert Anderson, a critic for *The Musical Times*, wrote of his "deadly loathing of the surtitle":

> Why insult our audiences by assuming they cannot be bothered to read the splendid background material of the Royal Opera programme books? Why encourage lazy listening by offering a pitiful little substitute for the relevant 'Opera Guide' and study of the libretto?[508]

His notion, that attending the opera must be hard work that requires advance preparation and a certain amount of education, is elitist. What he reacts against is precisely the new accessibility that supertitles afforded to those who did not have the leisure time to spend studying up for the opera, or those who could not afford to buy reading material in addition to the price of a ticket. For Paul Daniel, a one-time music director at the ENO, the immediacy that he perceived in supertitles was its flaw: "surtitles make audiences passive and castrated. You cannot feel an opera in your bollocks if you are just having the information fed to you."[509] These sexual metaphors show that some opera-lovers believe that to commune wholly with the music of an opera, one must effectively forget the existence of the words.

---

[507] Charlotte Higgins, "Can You Hear Me? ENO War of Words," *The Guardian*, June 7, 2005.

[508] Stewart Spencer and Robert Anderson, "More on Surtitles," *The Musical Times* 130, no. 1757 (1989): 384–384, doi:10.2307/1193429.

[509] Higgins, "Can You Hear Me? ENO War of Words." The English National Opera performs its entire repertory in English translation, much as the King's Theatre in 1790s London performed its entire repertory in Italian. If Paul Daniel was referring to surtitles at the ENO, he was making a distinction between reading and listening. If, however, he was referring to all opera surtitles everywhere, most surtitles perform an act of translation. The "information" being "fed to" the audience is content that the audience could not otherwise receive unless every single audience member were multilingual.

Daniel's equation of supertitle content with "information" is intriguing. The word "information" implies a sort of sterility, of data without a human source. The reliance of supertitles on new technology reinforced the perception that the contents that the titles displayed were accurate transmissions that had not been subjected to interpretation. It also contributed to separating supertitles from the almost four-hundred-year legacy of opera in translation.

Technology

The two main pieces of technology required by supertitles are a place to display lines of translation and a way to make these translations visible. Many opera houses display the supertitles on a large, oblong screen hung directly above the front edge of the stage. In this case, a projector, usually situated at the back of the house, above the heads of the audience, projects the text onto the screen. When supertitles were introduced, the most advanced projector technology available required that each individual supertitle be printed on its own transparent slide. The slides were then placed in a rotating wheel, and the projectionist advanced from one slide to the next with the press of a button. In addition to creating technical difficulties when the machine jammed, this method meant that the supertitles needed to be finalized days in advance of the performances to leave enough time for the slides to be printed and loaded in the proper order. Changes could be made after the fact only through re-printing individual slides, which was expensive and inefficient. Since the advent of digital projectors, the slides are no longer physical, but exist in virtual form in programs such as PowerPoint. Changes can be made moments before performances, and even during intermissions, allowing the translations to be tweaked based on perceived audience reaction in real time.

New advances in display technology are being incorporated into supertitle practices. Some opera houses, such as the Metropolitan Opera, offer audience members their own personal screen, which they can view on the seatback of the chair in front of them. No projector is needed in this case. This also gives audience members the option to view titles in langauges other than English or even to switch between languages at will. As mobile, personal electronics become increasingly common, opera companies are also considering whether these devices can be integrated into the audience experience of supertitles. In certain seats from which sightlines are bad for viewing a large supertitle screen, opera companies could hand out small tablets for supertitle viewing, or audience members could even use their own devices, hooking into the opera house's system through the use of an app.

Authorship, Creativity, and Human Labor

Human Labor and Constraints

When supertitles were first introduced, the innovation, although dependent on technology, was less about the projected slides that made the phenomenon possible than about the human labor involved in the translated text reaching the audience. Cori Ellison, a dramaturge whose work on supertitles was instrumental not only to her home company of New York City Opera but to many other American opera houses as well, thought deeply about the constraints of the genre: "'The mechanical confines require you to be even more creative. You must combine a literary regard for the libretto you're translating with a theatrical savvy regarding humor, drama and stage timing."[510] The limits to translation that Ellison describes, which are caused by the length of a line that can be projected, the amount of time an average person takes to read a short phrase, and

[510] Barry Laine, "The Subtle Work of Making Supertitles," *The New York Times*, July 27, 1986, http://www.nytimes.com/1986/07/27/arts/the-subtle-work-of-making-supertitles.html?pagewanted=all.

the tempo of the accompanying music, are similar to the constraints of the original score under which Da Ponte labored while writing his Italian translations of French works. Da Ponte warned the readers of his Vienna translation of *Iphigénie en Tauride* and of his London translation of *La belle Arsène* that the text they had purchased, and that which they heard sung at the opera, was not his best work. He felt that the fact that the operas' music already existed and needed to be, for the most part, preserved had stifled his poetic genius – his skill in shaping three-dimensional characters, his aptitude for creating lively verse even for expository recitatives, his ability to rhyme unlikely words. However, he also felt that the difficulty of his task made his successful completion of it still more impressive. Ellison and other supertitle translators deal with similar limitations in their work, and these working conditions inspire in them a similar mix of frustration and creative impulse.

Creativity

If translating for subtitles is creative work, then those who write subtitles are creators, authors, and adaptors, people whose labor results in a new experience for audience members. At the inception of supertitles, this was understood. The artistic director of the Washington National Opera in 1986, Francis Rizzo, asserted that "titling needs a dramaturgy of its own" and that titles are governed by "aesthetic rules" and "must be done by artists."[511]

It was the participation of the titles in the unity of the production concept that surprised reviewers of the Met's recent production of *Rigoletto*. The production, staged by Michael Mayer, is set in Las Vegas in 1960, and the titles, based on more traditional ones by Sonya Friedman but "rejiggered" by Michael Panayos and Paul Cremo, are

[511] Ibid.

replete with American slang of the era.[512] The resulting titles, based on the diction of Frank Sinatra songs, are an adaptation, not a translation. The "bada-bing" it brings to the seatback screens draws attention to the role that all supertitles play in all opera productions at the Met and across the country. At each performance of this Met *Rigoletto*, a theater full of audience members realizes that the content of supertitles is not simply "information." It is not even necessarily a shortened version of the source text, or the essence of what is being sung. There is a man (or a woman, or a large staff) behind the curtain, making creative choices about what appears on the Met Titles screens.

The Illusion of Transparency and the Avoidance of Distraction

Marvin Carlson writes that the supertitle is "a device that is potentially much more complicated than it might at first appear." Carlson identifies a few of the problems of subtitles as the "distraction" of having to look beyond the usual limits of the stage for visual input, and the "necessary selectivity" of the translation, necessary due to the constraints that Ellison brought to our attention earlier.[513] However, most importantly, Carlson points out the "inadequacy of the common assumption that supertitles, like simultaneous translations, are a basically transparent aid to communication, a presumably neutral device not actually part of the production."[514] Marcus Nornes, a translation scholar and writer of subtitles for Japanese films, objects to this same assumption in his 1999 article "For an Abusive Subtitling." He writes that, contrary to popular belief, "Nothing is simple when it comes to subtitles; every turn of phrase, every

[512] Daniel Wakin, "Oh Baby! That Duke Sure Is a Dreamboat in the New 'Rigoletto," *New York Times*, February 8, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/09/arts/music/mets-titles-translate-rigoletto-into-1960-rat-pack-speak.html.

[513] Marvin A Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues: Language at Play in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 196–197.

[514] Ibid., 196.

punctuation mark, every decision the translator makes holds implications for the viewing experience of foreign spectators."[515] Nornes goes on to say that despite the integral part subtitlists play in audience reception of foreign films, their existence is, for the most part, ignored. This is true for opera supertitlists as well.

Attribution and Recognition

When an opera production is advertised on the website of an Anglophone opera company or in the company's promotional materials, the fact that the opera will be sung in the original language with English supertitles is given a place of prominence on the page, usually right under the names of the composer and librettist of the opera. However, it is often the case that no further information is given, and one must comb through pages and pages of content to find even a trace of the translator's identity. Many times, there is no publically available record of who the translator is. For example, the LA opera's Fall 2016 production of *Macbeth* lists a "climbing consultant" among its creative team, but not the author of the supertitles.[516] Other opera companies, such as Boston Lyric Opera, list the name of the translator when the translation has been completed by a staff member.[517] However, when the translation has been rented from another company, they only list the name of that company, and not the name of the translator.

In-House Supertitle Teams: The Case of the Metropolitan Opera

The Metropolitan Opera has a strong, in-house model, which Michael Panayos believes to be the only fulltime department in the country.[518] Panayos runs a Met Titles team made up of about fifteen people. There are five writers, three or four translators,

[515] Abé Mark Nornes, "For an Abusive Subtitling," *Film Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1999): 17, doi:10.2307/1213822.
[516] LA Opera, "Macbeth," October 2016, https://www.laopera.org/season/16-17-season/macbeth.
[517] Boston Lyric Opera, "Carmen," October 2016, https://blo.org/carmen/.
[518] Private phone interview with Michael Panayos, Met Titles, February 20, 2017.

two managers, and four employees who deal with operations during performances (two who are musicians, and two who are stage hands). The fact that writers and translators are two different roles speaks to the Met's titling aesthetic. Panayos says, "The script has to be adjusted to the production," and that this requirement is necessary because "the production is often not true to the libretto." The Met Titles staff works closely with the director and design team of each production to make sure the titles fit with the aesthetic of the production. This is why the team must be in-house. If the Met were to order supertitles from a traditional production of *La Traviata* for its current production of the opera, full of stark color contrasts, modern lines, and symbolic set pieces, Panayos says, the resultant product would suffer.

Even at the Metropolitan Opera, where the complicated nature of supertitles is acknowledged with the existence of a full staff devoted to this task, attribution is still lacking. The author of the Met Titles for each production can be found on the third page of a given opera's program, often wedged between the name of the diction coach and that of the assistant set designer or the prompter and the children's chorus director. They are not listed on the public webpage for the productions, nor in the Met's extensive online performance archive/database. When I asked him why it is difficult to find who exactly wrote the Met Titles for each production, Panayos had several interesting responses. First of all, he complimented me on my word-choice – I had used the verb "to write" rather than "to translate." Second, he talked about how the Title staff are hired – the writers are hired under contract, the titles are sometimes written collaboratively, and the company, not the writers or translators, owns the rights to the titles. In fact, Panayos cited a writer who requested that his or her name no longer be attributed to the titles that he or she writes. It was clear that Panayos was not at liberty to go into details that might compromise the person's identity, but this brings up an interesting question we

have considered elsewhere in this dissertation in reference to Da Ponte of why a translator would or would not want to be associated with his own efforts.

Nornes finds the fact that some translators do not want to be pulled out from behind the scenes troubling, and indicative of what he sees as the "corruption" of subtitling practices. He writes: "[Subtitlers] conspire to hide their repeated acts of violence through codified rules and a tradition of suppression. It is this practice that is corrupt – feigning completeness in their own violent world."[519] Nornes finds an alternative to this "corrupt" subtitling, which pretends that it does not change the original and is instead a complete transcript of it, in what he calls "abusive" subtitling, or subtitling that admits to the violence that it causes the source text.[520] Abusive subtitling "expose[s] the act of translation," and admits that translations "tamper with language."[521] Nornes's observations can all be applied to opera supertitling practices. For example, the Met's current production of *Rigoletto*, discussed above, is a case of abusive supertitling. Most opera supertitles are "corrupt." This is partially due to the economics of supertitle production.

Economics

As we have seen, translating operas and creating supertitles are complex tasks that require the use of skilled labor. However, as supertitles gained in popularity, the intensive and time-consuming nature of supertitle production required too many resources for individual opera companies to be able to support such labor on the scale that was needed. The members of opera staffs who could write carefully-considered,

[519] Nornes, "For an Abusive Subtitling," 18.

[520] In the years since publishing this article, Nornes has come to regret his rather forceful terminology. At the time of this dissertation's completion, Nornes is experimenting with the gentler terms "sensible" and "sensuous" to replace "corrupt" and "abusive," respectively.

[521] Nornes, "For an Abusive Subtitling," 20, 29.

well-informed titles were already needed to perform other duties on the artistic and musical staffs of opera houses, and few companies could have afforded to hire an additional staff member for this role, since they already needed to spend a large sum from their limited budget to purchase the technology needed to make the titles visible. As *The New York Times* reported in 1986, "Initial cost may be amortized by renting the titles - in a package with script, score, cued slides and instruction kit - to other companies at a flat fee of $3,000. City Opera supertitles have thereby graced stages in San Diego, Seattle, Minneapolis, Cincinnati and Chicago."[522] In this way, supertitles went from being an in-house endeavor of an opera's production department to an imported good, and the labor expended to make it possible became anonymized, and in some cases even erased.[523] This contributed to "corrupt," rather than "abusive," supertitling practices.

Other than economics, one of the primary reasons why opera supertitling is "corrupt" is that in opera performance today, the original work is held in such high regard. Linda and Michael Hutcheon summarize the historical progression of the work concept as it relates to opera: "While in earlier centuries operatic texts were supplemented and substituted — in short, altered constantly — over time they have become repeated and standardized, and thus respected as if inviolate."[524] The final portion of this conclusion addresses this process of standardization and its effect on translation practices in opera.

[522] Laine, "The Subtle Work of Making Supertitles."

[523] Of course, the case of the Metropolitan Opera, discussed above, is an exception.

[524] Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, "Adaptation and Opera," in *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, ed. Thomas M. Leitch (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 305.

Adaptation and Nationalism vs. Internationalism

In the eighteenth century, a work was fluid, and authorship was unstable.[525] The work of adaptation and translation was germane to performance practice, just as important as the original creation of new works. At the King's Theatre, part of the work of adaptation and translation involved fitting an opera to the tastes of the opera-going public in London at the time. The case of *Évélina* demonstrated most clearly how the political climate could affect what changes needed to be made to avoid objections from audience members. The opera was translated from French into Italian so that it would not be seen as a French cultural product, and the recitative sections were also curtailed to make the opera sound less French. Brigida Giorgi Banti's fame as a performer of "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia" coupled with her role as a British princess in *Arvire et Évélina* also made the performance less French and more British. In this way an opera written by Italians and sung in Italian by more Italians, was seen as an appropriate cultural product for domestic consumption.[526]

The kinds of modifications that were made to *Arvire et Évélina* at the King's Theatre would not be tolerated in any major opera house today. Operas are occasionally shortened due to the time constraints imposed by musicians' unions or audiences' attention spans. However, the music played by the orchestra, the text and music sung by the singers, and often, as discussed above in the case of rented supertitles, the translation, remains the same across the globe.[527] As Christopher Morris affirms, "Cuts to the score are common, but reworking a trio as a duet or interpolating musical material

[525] See page 17.

[526] For a more in-depth discussion of *Evelina* and Banti's performances of British patriotic songs, see page 127.

[527] For the purposes of this discussion, I refer only to the practices of mainstream opera companies and their usual production practices. As such, I do not touch on radical adaptations of operas such as Peter Brook's *La tragédie de Carmen* (1983), the Wooster Group's *La Didone* (2007).

from outside the score is still widely considered unthinkable."[528] The main element of an opera production that changes from production to production is the staging, and with it the singer's costumes and stage-movements. These components are not generally considered to be part of the work itself, which remains largely untouchable.

The opera *Turandot*, written by Giacomo Puccini with a libretto by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni and premiered in Milan in 1926, is one of these untouchable works. Firmly a part of the operatic canon, *Turandot* was performed 1225 times, in 255 separate productions around the world between 2011 and 2016, making it the eighteenth most commonly performed opera during those years.[529] *Turandot* was written by Italians for Italians to perform and to watch. However, it is set in Ancient China, a place and time about which its creators knew next to nothing. Puccini attempted to evoke what he may have thought to be an authentic essence of China by incorporating Eastern tunes he had learned from a music box[530] and his librettists named three characters Ping, Pang, and Pong, and had the chorus sing "Ten thousand years to our Emperor!" These gestures towards Chinese culture and history, conceived in ignorance, were not problematic in Milan in 1926. However, today, several productions of *Turandot* in America have caused a backlash for perpetuating derogatory stereotypes of Asian characters. Likewise, *Turandot*'s portrayal of women as figures who exist only to satisfy male goals and desires is not well-received today. As Rob Buscher, Festival Director of Philadelphia Asian American Film Festival, wrote on Opera Philadelphia's blog in reaction to that company's fall 2016 production of *Turandot*:

---

[528] Christopher Morris, "'Too Much Music': The Media of Opera," in *The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies*, ed. Nicholas Till (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 98.

[529] Operabase, "Opera Statistics 2015/16," 2015, http://operabase.com/top.cgi?lang=en&break=0&show=opera&no=0&nat=.

[530] W. Anthony Sheppard, "Puccini and the Music Boxes," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 140, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 41–92.

> Somehow problematic theater pieces continue being produced faithful to their original stage plays by contemporary theater companies, largely unaware that they are perpetuating negative stereotypes inherent within. Perhaps this case is unique to theater because pieces are traditionally performed as they are written. But the suggestion that eliminating problematic racist or misogynistic aspects might compromise the integrity of a piece is no longer a defensible argument in 2016.[531]

Buscher goes on to call upon all "patrons of the arts" to "demand that our theater companies reinterpret these pieces according to contemporary standards of social equality."[532]

Buscher is, in essence, calling for practices of adaptation that would have been familiar to Da Ponte. What would it mean if *Turandot* were reinterpreted according to the practices of the King's Theatre in the 1790s, with the music and text adapted to avoid the stereotypes that hurt Philadelphia audiences in 2016? The characters Ping, Pang, and Pong would definitely be renamed, but might Turandot avoid succumbing to the violent kiss of the Prince Calàf who decides she will be his conquest? Would traditional Chinese instruments play from the pit instead of, or in addition to, Puccini's Romantic orchestra? Would the opera be translated from Italian into English? Maybe even Chinese? Or, if we wanted *Turandot* to remain intact, could the negative reception of the work in places like Philadelphia be tempered by "abusive" supertitling?

Opera companies do sometimes use English supertitles to help with modern reception of such problematic issues, through deliberate omissions or mistranslations. Peter Low, who was asked to provide English supertitle translations for a production of *Les Pêcheurs de perles* for Canterbury Opera, New Zealand in 1999, admits to having "remed[ied] a defect of the words," in this case the fact that Bizet's librettist was

---

[531] Nornes, "For an Abusive Subtitling," 17.

[532] Rob Buscher, "Turandot: Time to Call It Quits on Orientalist Opera?," *Opera Blog*, September 19, 2016, https://www.operaphila.org/5588.aspx.

unfamiliar with the culture of Sri Lanka.[533] The Hindu god Siva is male, but the libretto refers to Siva as a goddess (déesse). Low translated "déesse" as "divine one" to avoid reinforcing this culturally insensitive misstep.[534]

Likewise, the supertitles for productions of Mozart and Schikaneder's Singspiel *Die Zauberflöte* often do not translate Monostatos's aria accurately. In the aria, Monostatos sings about the color of his skin and complains that it prevents him from kissing Pamina, a white woman to whom he feels drawn.

The subtitles produced for the video of the Metropolitan Opera's 1991 production take out all reference to race, leaving in only the word "dark," which does not necessarily reference Monostatos's skin color. In 2006, the Metropolitan Opera produced an English-language version of the opera, with a singable translation by the poet J.D. McClatchy. The opera was also shortened to 1 hour and 52 minutes in order to appeal to schoolchildren. The text to Monostatos's aria in this version is even further removed from issues of race, and Monostatos's costume and makeup is so abstract that not only is his skin color not apparent, but it is not even clear that he is a human being at all.

Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman, two translators who have collaborated on a vast number of singable English translations of various operas write about the Monostatos dilemma in their 2016 monograph *Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics*:

> Disagreeing with the view of the source [i.e. that "a black man should not have sexual relations with a white woman"], we nonetheless translated it, but gave an alternate version to be used if the artistic director did not wish the racist idea expressed, or had cast a non-black as Monostatos.[535]

---

[533] Bizet chose to set the opera in Sri Lanka based on costume availability rather than personal preference or dramatic impetus.

[534] Peter Low, "Surtitles for Opera: A Specialised Translating Task," *Babel* 48, no. 2 (2002): 108, doi:10.1075/babel.48.2.01low.

[535] Apter and Herman, *Translating for Singing*, 121.

Table 12: Monostatos's Aria

Original German text, by Emanuel Schikaneder	**Literal English translation by Lea Frey**	**Metropolitan Opera video-recording subtitles (1991)**	**Metropolitan Opera Singable English translation by J.D. McClatchy (2006)**
Alles fühlt der Liebe Freuden, Schnäbelt, tändelt, herzt und küsst; Und ich soll die Liebe meiden, Weil ein Schwarzer hässlich ist. Ist mir denn kein Herz gegeben? Bin ich nicht von Fleisch und Blut? Immer ohne Weibchen leben, Wäre wahrlich Höllenglut! Drum so will ich, weil ich lebe, Schnäbeln, küssen, zärtlich sein! Lieber guter Mond, vergebe, Eine Weisse nahm mich ein. Weiss ist schön! Ich muss sie küssen; Mond, verstecke dich dazu! Sollt es dich zu sehr verdriessen, Oh, so mach die Augen zu!	Everything feels the joys of love, Bills and coos, dallies, cuddles, and kisses, And I should have avoided love, Because a black person is ugly! Was I then not given a heart? Am I not of flesh and blood? Always to live without a little wife, Would truly be the flames of hell! Thus, I want, because I am living, To bill and coo, kiss, be tender! Dear good moon, forgive me, A white woman captivated me. White is beautiful! I must kiss her; Moon, hide yourself for this! Should it vex you too much, Oh, then close your eyes	Everyone feels the joy of love, kissing and caressing. Must I renounce love because I'm dark and ugly? Don't I have a heart? Am I not flesh and blood? To remain without a woman Would be like roasting in hell. I'm only human. I'd like to kiss and caress too. Benevolent moon, forgive me for desiring this woman. She's so lovely, I must kiss her! Moon conceal yourself If the sight offends you, Then avert your eyes.	Men were born to be great lovers, meant to charm and then subdue. Why am I not like the others? I'm despised and ugly too. My heart it beats like theirs. I have flesh and blood as well. If no maiden ever loves me, Life would be a living hell. So as long as I am breathing, I'll be like the other fools. I can feel my heart it's beating. Now I'll take my pleasure too. We're alone. I can't resist her. If, pale moon, you feel disgrace. When I bend now so to kiss her, Turn away and hide your face.

The alternate version to which Apter and Herman refer would be more of an adaptation than a translation. In fact, all of the translations of this aria except for the literal translation, which is not attached to any performance and was only written for reference, perform this same role, removing and replacing the portions of the German text that would offend modern sensibilities. Although these translations do not showcase the meaning of the source text, they are also not "abusive" in Nornes terms. This is because the audience has no way of knowing that the original text was about blackness.

The words are changed, but the voice of the translator does not seep into the consciousness of the audience (as it does in the case of the Met's *Rigoletto*, for example). The translations smooth over difference, denying that it exists at all. In the case of McClatchy's singable translation for children, the original text is not present at all. However, in the case of the supertitled production, the singer playing Monostatos still sings the original German words while the supertitle screen neutralizes them. What is ironic in the case of this aria is that the text holds a quite interesting message about race relations in the eighteenth century, which is still, unfortunately, relatable today.

Conclusion

Opera supertitles are a valuable part of revitalizing opera production in America and beyond.[536] The rise in opera companies' usage of supertitles correlates quite strongly with a growth in attendance at these same companies. The mere existence of supertitles is not enough to maintain audience attendance, however. In order for audiences to be genuinely engaged in a supertitled opera, the translations must be deliberate and thoughtful. Supertitlists must be able to play with (and sometimes even break) conventions. They must know the value of inserting their subjectivities into the slides, showing that a human intelligence hovers behind the technology, and that a connection is being actively formed between the past and present, between the stage and the audience, and between the words and the music. Understanding past methods of translation, such as those used by Da Ponte at the King's Theatre, as well as reasons for such translations, can help the opera community not only attract new audiences but to keep them interested season after season.

[536] Desblache, "Music to My Ears, but Words to My Eyes? Text, Opera and Their Audiences."

Bibliography

Accademia della Crusca. “parafrasi.” *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*. Venezia: L. Baseggio, 1741. http://www.lessicografia.it/pagina.jsp?ediz=4&vol=3&pag=485&tipo=1.

Addison, J. *The Spectator*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837.

“Ah! quel core: a favorite song as sung by Madm. Banti in the serious opera of Evelina.” L. Lavenu, c 1797.

“Air de Iphigénie En Tauride.” *Journal de Paris*, no. 146 (May 26, 1779): 585–88.

“Air de Iphigénie En Tauride.” *Journal de Paris*, no. 151 (May 31, 1779): 605–8.

Alec Hyatt King. “Kelly, Michael.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed May 3, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/14856.

“Ancient Music.” *True Briton*. February 9, 1797, 1288 edition, sec. News.

Apter, Ronnie, and Mark Herman. *Translating for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics*. Bloomsbury Advances in Translation. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Armondino, Gail Miller. “The Opera Comique in London, or Transforming French Comic Opera for the English Stage, 1770-1789.” Ph.D., The Catholic University of America, 2000.

Backscheider, Paula R. *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Baker, Nicole Edwina Ivy. “Italian Opera at the Court of Mannheim, 1758-1770.” Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994.

Baldwin, Olive, and Thelma Wilson. “Arsinoe.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.

Banham, Martin, ed. *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*. New ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Baretti, Giuseppe. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy : With Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers, with Regard to That Country*. London: T. Davies, 1768.

Bartlet, Elizabeth C., and Richard Langham Smith. “Opéra Comique.” *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

Bastin, Georges L., and Paul F. Bandia. *Charting the Future of Translation History*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006.

Beal, Joan C. “‘À La Mode de Paris’: Linguistic Patriotism and Francophobia in 18th-Century Britain.” In *The Languages of Nation: Attitudes and Norms*,

edited by Carol Percy and Mary Catherine Davidson, 141–54. Multilingual Matters 148. Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2012.
Bell, David Avrom. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
Bemong, Nele, Mirjam Truwant, and Pieter Vermeulen, eds. *Re-Thinking Europe: Literature and (trans)national Identity*. Vol. 55. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008.
Betzwieser, Thomas. "Opéra Comique Als Italienische Hofoper: Grétrys 'Zemira E Azor' in Mannheim (1776)." In *Mannheim–ein Paradies Der Tonkünstler?: Kongressbericht Mannheim 1999*, edited by L. Finscher, B. Pelker, and R. Thomsen-Fürst, 436–66. Quellen Und Studien Zur Geschichte Der Mannheimer Hofkapelle. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2002.
Biba, Otto. "Da Ponte in New York, Mozart in New York." *Current Musicology*, no. 81 (Spring 2006): 109–21.
Black, Jeremy. *Italy and the Grand Tour*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
Bletschacher, Richard. *Mozart und da Ponte: Chronik einer Begegnung*. Salzburg: Residenz, 2004.
Bolt, Rodney. *The Librettist of Venice: The Remarkable Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart's Poet, Casanova's Friend, and Italian Opera's Impresario in America*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publisher, 2006.
Boston Lyric Opera. "Carmen," October 2016. https://blo.org/carmen/.
Bottarelli, Gualberto, and Antonio Sacchini. *Il Cid*. London: W. Griffin, 1773.
Bruce Alan Brown, and Julian Rushton. "Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed August 31, 2013. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/11301.
Buch, David J. *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theater*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
Bullock, Barbara E, and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio. *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511576331.
Burden, Michael. "Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas." edited by Anthony DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti. Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Burgh, Allatson. *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical; in a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to His Daughter*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.
Burney, Charles. "A Collection of Songs, Numbers from Operas, and Part of a Transcript of the 'Regole Del Contrappunto Pratico Di Nicola Sala.'" Musical Score, c 1794. British Library.

———. *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*. Edited by Frank Mercer. Vol. 2. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.
———. Letter. "Charles Burney to Louisa Margaret Harris." Letter, November 20, 1808. Add MS 48345. British Library.
———. *The Present State Of Music In Germany, The Netherlands, And United Provinces. Or The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for A General History Of Music: In Two Volumes*. v. 1. London: Becket, 1775.
Burney, Fanny. *Evelina, Or, The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Edited by Margaret Anne Doody. London; New York: Penguin Books, 1994.
Buscher, Rob. "Turandot: Time to Call It Quits on Orientalist Opera?" *Opera Blog*, September 19, 2016. https://www.operaphila.org/5588.aspx.
Butler, Margaret. "Gluck's Alceste in Bologna: Production and Performance at the Teatro Comunale, 1778." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 727–76.
Byron, George Gordon. *La Profezia Di Dante*. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte. New York: R. & W. A. Bartow, 1821.
Callas, Maria, and Nino Sanzogno. *Ifigenia in Tauride*. CD. Milan: Opera d'oro, 1957.
"Caratacus." *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*. Accessed November 23, 2015. http://www.britannica.com/biography/Caratacus.
Carlson, Marvin A. *Speaking in Tongues: Language at Play in the Theatre*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.
Carlson, Marvin A. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. Theater: Theory/Text/Performance. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2003.
Carr, Bruce. "Banti, Brigida Giorgi." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed June 23, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/01964.
Carter, Tim, and Dorothea Link. "Da Ponte, Lorenzo." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed June 5, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/07207.
Chaney, Edward. *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*. London: Frank Cass, 1998.
Chard, Chloe. *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
Charlton, David. *French Opera, 1730-1830: Meaning and Media*. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS634. Aldershot ; Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, 2000.

———. *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
Chesterman, Andrew. "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies." *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 14–22.
Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2005.
Collier, George. *Selima & Azor, a Persian Tale in Three Parts*. London: Bell, 1784.
Colpi, Terri. *Italians Forward: A Visual History of the Italian Community in Great Britain*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991.
———. *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991.
Concerts of Ancient Music, Under the Patronage of Their Majesties, and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as Performed at the New Rooms, Hanover Square. London: Joseph Mallett, 1818.
Cook, Elisabeth. "Querelle Des Bouffons." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed August 26, 2013. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/50010.
Corneilson, Paul Edward. "Opera at Mannheim, 1770-1778." Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992.
Coronini, Rodolfo. *Fasti Goriziani*. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte. Gorizia: Valerio de' Valeri, 1780.
Corri, Domenico, ed. *English Songs and Duetts*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Corri, 1779.
———. *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music*. London, England: Chappell & Co. Music Sellers, 1810.
Craw, Howard Allen. "Jan Ladislav Dussek." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed January 8, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/44229.
Craw, Howard Allen, and Bonnie Shaljean. "Sophia (Giustina) Dussek [née Corri; Later Moralt]." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed January 8, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/44229.
Croll, Gerhard, and Irene Brandenburg. "Millico, (Vito) Giuseppe." *Grove Music Online*, n.d.
Cumming, Julie E. "Gluck's Iphigenia Operas: Sources and Strategies." In *Opera and the Enlightenment*, edited by Thomas Bauman and Marita P. McClymonds. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
———. "Iphigenia in Tauris." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, n.d.
Dam, Helle V., and Karen Korning Zethsen. "Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator -- Introduction to the Thematic Section." *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 7–12.

Daniel Heartz. “Algarotti, Francesco.” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed December 5, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/00558.

Da Ponte, Lorenzo, trans. “Ah il mio cor: a favorite song as sung by Madm. Banti at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, in the serious opera of Evelina.” L. Lavenu, 1797.

Da Ponte, Lorenzo. *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte*. New York: Lorenzo Da Ponte, 1819.

———. *Memoirs*. New York Review Books Classics. New York: New York Review Books, 2000.

———. *Memorie. Libretti mozartiani: Le nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, Così fan tutte. Lorenzo DaPonte*. Milano: Garzanti, 1995.

Da Ponte, Lorenzo, and Lorenzo Della Chà. *Libretti londinesi*. Milano: Il polifilo, 2007.

———. *Libretti viennesi*. Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo; U. Guanda, 1999.

Da Ponte, Lorenzo, Pierre Alexandre Monsigny, and Joseph Mazzinghi. “Nei Sguardi Ritrosi.” In *The Songs, Duetts &c. in the Favorite Opera La Bella Arsene*, 1:14–21. London: G. Goulding, 1796.

Darlow, Mark. *Dissonance in the Republic of Letters: The Querelle Des Gluckistes et Des Piccinnistes*. London Leeds: Legenda, Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2013.

———. *Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789-1794*. The New Cultural History of Music. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dawes, M. “Azore to Zemira.” *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*. May 16, 1776, 2180 edition.

Degott, Pierre. “Early English Translations of Italian Opera (1711-1750).” In *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, edited by Stefanie Stockhorst. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2010.

Desblache, Lucile. “Music to My Ears, but Words to My Eyes? Text, Opera and Their Audiences.” *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 6, no. LA-NS 6/2007 (2007): 155–71.

DiChiera, David, and Joyce Johnson Robinson. “Sacchini, Antonio.” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed July 13, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/24251.

Doe, Julia. “French Opera at the Italian Theater (1762-93): Opéra Comique and the Development of National Style in France.” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2013.

Dunegan, Amy. “Secularization, National Identity, and the Baroque: Italian Music in England, 1660-1711.” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2014.

Dussek, J.L., ed. *Del Caro’s Hornpipe*. Dublin: B. Cooke, n.d.

Edgcumbe, Richard. *Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur: Chiefly Respecting the Italian Opera in England for Fifty Years, from 1773 to 1823*. London: W. Clarke, 1827.
Edwards, John. *Multilingualism*. London ; New York: Routlege, 1994.
Ewans, Michael. *Opera from the Greek: Studies in the Poetics of Appropriation*. Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
Favart, Charles-Simon, and Pierre Alexandre Monsigny. *La Bella Arsene, an Heroic Opera, in Three Acts; as Performed at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket*. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte and John Mazzinghi. London: W. Glindon, 1795.
"Federici, Vincenzo." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed September 28, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/09410.
Feldman, Martha. *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
Fenlon, Iain. "Baretti, Giuseppe (Marc'Antonio)." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed December 12, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/02043.
Fenner, T. *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*. Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
Fenner, Theodore. *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
"First of June." *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. June 10, 1795.
Fiske, Roger, and Gabriella Dideriksen. "Mazzinghi, Joseph." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed June 23, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/18201.
FitzLyon, April. *The Libertine Librettist: A Biography of Mozart's Librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte*. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1957.
Florio, John. *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues*. London: Melch Bradwood, 1611. http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/florio/.
"For the Morning Post." *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. March 6, 1779, 1994 edition.
Fraser, Antonia. *Marie Antoinette: The Journey*. New York: N.A. Talese/Doubleday, 2001.
Freeman, Daniel E. "An 18th-Century Singer's Commission of 'Baggage' Arias." *Early Music* XX, no. 3 (1992): 427–33.
Fubini, Enrico, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds. *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Fubini, Mario. “Baretti, Giuseppe.” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1964. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-baretti_(Dizionario-Biografico).
Fuld, James J. *The Book of World-Famous Libretti: The Musical Theater from 1598 to Today*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1984.
Gallini, Giovanni-Andrea. *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*. London, 1772.
Genesi, Mario Giuseppe. “‘... E non m’invola a sì rea fatalità’: il repertorio di una soprano d’opera seria Accademia Filarmonica ‘ad honorem’ Maria Brigida Giorgi-Banti di Monticelli d’Ongina.” *Archivio Storico Parmense* XLIII (1991): 189–213.
———. “Il Soprano Piacentino Brigida Banti-Giorgi:exordia a Londra E Parigi.” *Archivio Storico Parmense* LXV (2013): 329–75.
———. “La Soprano Monticellese Brigida G. Banti Protagonista a Londra Della Vittoria Dell’ammiraglio Howe a Lizard Point.” *Strenna Piacentina* XII, no. III (1992): 156–65.
———. “Nuove testimonianze sul soprano monticellese Giorgi-Banti.” *Archivio Storico Parmense* LVII (2005): 361–405.
Gerhard, Anselm. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by Mary Whittall. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
Ghanooni, Ali Reza. “A Review of the History of Translation Studies.” *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2012). doi:10.4304/tpls.2.1.77-85.
Gilchrist, Ingrid Kyler. “Charles Simon Favart’s Contribution to Eighteenth Century French Comedy.” Ph.D., Columbia University, 1975.
Gillray, James. *No Flower That Blows Is like This Rose*. Print, 1796.
Gluck, Christoph Willibald, and Nicolas François Guillard. *L’ifigenia in Tauride*. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte. Vienna: Kurzbeck, 1783.
Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von, and Nicolas François Guillard. “Ifigenia in Tauride.” Musical Score. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte, c 1783. Bibliotheque publique et universitaire.
God Save the King: As Sung by Sigra. Banti, at the King’s Theatre Haymarket, for the Commemoration of Lord Howe’s Victory of the 1st June 1794 with Her Graces and Ornaments. London: Corri, Dussek & Co., 1794.
Goehr, Lydia. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works : An Essay in the Philosophy of Music: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Clarendon Press, 1992.
Goehr, Lydia, and Daniel Alan Herwitz, eds. *The Don Giovanni Moment: Essays on the Legacy of an Opera*. Columbia Themes in Philosophy, Social Criticism, and the Arts. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
Goldhill, Simon. *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011.

———. “Who Killed Gluck?” In *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage.*, edited by Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2010.
Gorlée, Dinda L. “Intercode Translation: Words and Music in Opera.” *Target* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 1997): 235–70.
———. “Jakobson and Peirce: Translational Intersemiosis and Symbiosis in Opera.” *Sign Systems Studies* 36, no. 2 (2008): 341–74.
———. *Song and Significance: Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*. Approaches to Translation Studies. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2005.
Graeme, Roland. “Ifigenia in Tauride (Review).” *The Opera Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1999): 334–36.
Greene, John C. *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1822: A Calendar of Performances*. Bethlehem: Lehigh Univ. Press, 2011.
Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste. *Memoires; Ou, Essais Sur La Musique*. Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.
———. “The Favourite Songs in the Opera Zemira E Azore, Etc.” W. Napier, 1779.
Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste, and Jean-François Marmontel. *Zémire et Azor*. Paris: Chez Vente, 1772.
Guillard, Nicolas Francois. *Arvire et Evelina, Tragédie-Lyrique En Trois Actes*. Paris: P. de Lormel, 1788.
Guillard, Nicolas François. *Arvire Og Evelina*. Copenhagen, 1799.
———. *Edippo a Colono*. Translated by Giovanni Schmidt. Naples: Stamperia Flautina, 1808.
———. *Oedipe a Colone*. Paris: Chez les Libraires, 1789.
Hall, Edith. *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: A Cultural History of Euripides’ Black Sea Tragedy*. Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Hayes, Jeremy. “Iphigénie En Aulide.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Oxford University Press, n.d.
———. “Iphigénie En Tauride (i).” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Oxford University Press, n.d.
Hayes, K.J. *The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson*. Oxford University Press, 2012. https://books.google.com/books?id=9eDQCwAAQBAJ.
Heartz, Daniel. “Coming of Age in Bohemia: The Musical Apprenticeships of Benda and Gluck.” *The Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 4 (1988): 510–27.
———. “The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance: Rousseau, Sedaine, and Monsigny.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 2 (1981): 149–78. doi:10.2307/2738240.
Herder, Johann Gottfried. *Philosophical Writings*. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Higgins, Charlotte. “Can You Hear Me? ENO War of Words.” *The Guardian*. June 7, 2005.
Highfill, P.H., K.A. Burnim, and E.A. Langhans. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage*

Personnel in London, 1660-1800. A Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses, 1660-1800 Series, v. 10. Southern Illinois University Press, 1984.
———. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*. A Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses, 1660-1800 Series, v. 13. Southern Illinois University Press, 1991.
Hodges, Sheila. *Lorenzo Da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
Hogarth, George. *Memoirs of the Opera in Italy, France, Germany, and England*. London: R. Bentley, 1851.
Holden, Anthony. *The Man Who Wrote Mozart: The Extraordinary Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006.
"HONOUR- GLORY - VICTORY!!!!" *Times*. June 12, 1794, 3013 edition.
Howard, Patricia. *C. W. Von Gluck: Orfeo*. Cambridge Opera Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
———. "Gluck's Two Alcestes: A Comparison." *The Musical Times* 115, no. 1578 (1974): 642–43.
Hutcheon, Linda. "Interdisciplinary Opera Studies." *PMLA* 121, no. 3 (2006): 802–10.
Hutcheon, Linda, and Michael Hutcheon. "Adaptation and Opera." In *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, edited by Thomas M. Leitch, 305–23. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
Iacuzzi, Alfred. *The European Vogue of Favart: The Difussion of the Opéra-Comique*. 1st AMS ed. Music and Theatre in France in the 17th and 18th Centuries. New York: AMS Press, 1978.
Isherwood, Robert M. "Nationalism and the Querelle Des Bouffons." In *D'un Opéra L'autre: Hommage à Jean Mongrédien*, edited by J. Mongrédien, M.C.L. Moigne-Mussat, H. Schneider, and J. Gribenski. Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1996.
Jobe, Robert DeRoy. "The Operas of André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry." Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1965.
Johnson, James H. *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
Jones, Peter Ward, and Rachel E. Cowgill. "Domenico Corri." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed January 8, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/06565.
Jullien, Adolphe. *La Cour et L'opéra Sous Louis XVI: Marie-Antoinette et Sacchini, Salieri, Favart et Gluck*. Paris: Didier, 1878.
Kelly, Michael. *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly: Of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century*. Edited by Theodore Edward Hook. v. 1. London: H. Colburn, 1826.

Kidson, Frank. “Hornpipe.” Edited by John Alexander Fuller-Mailand and Waldo Seldon Pratt. *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London, England: Macmillan Company, 1906.
“King’s Theatre.” *True Briton*. February 17, 1796, sec. Arts & Entertainment.
Kramer, Lawrence. “Musicology and Meaning.” *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1883 (2003): 6–12. doi:10.2307/3650677.
Lahee, H.C. *Annals of Music in America: A Chronological Record of Significant Musical Events, from 1640 to the Present Day, with Comments on the Various Periods Into Which the Work Is Divided*. Annals of Music in America: A Chronological Record of Significant Musical Events, from 1640 to the Present Day, with Comments on the Various Periods Into Which the Work Is Divided. Marshall Jones Company, 1922. https://books.google.com/books?id=h88VbzAGZ80C.
Laine, Barry. “The Subtle Work of Making Supertitles.” *The New York Times*. July 27, 1986. http://www.nytimes.com/1986/07/27/arts/the-subtle-work-of-making-supertitles.html?pagewanted=all.
Lanapoppi, Aleramo. *Lorenzo Da Ponte: realtà e leggenda nella vita del librettista di Mozart*. Venezia: Marsilio, 1992.
LA Opera. “Macbeth,” October 2016. https://www.laopera.org/season/16-17-season/macbeth.
Larpent, Anna. *The Diaries of Anna Larpent*. Vol. 1. 17 vols. Adam Matthew Publications, n.d.
Latour, Francis. *The Favourite Hornpipe Danced by Madame Del Caro at the King’s Theatre Hay Market in the Cantata of La Vittoria with Variations for the Piano Forte Violin and Flute*. New York: Paff’s Music Warehouse, 1802.
Lee, Margaret. *Clara Lennox; or The Distressed Widow*. London: J. Adlard, 1797.
Lee, William, and Daniel Nathan Shury. *The Plan of the Boxes at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket with an Alphabetical List of the Subscribers for the Season 1804*. London: D.N. Shury, 1804.
Lefevere, André, ed. *Translation--History, Culture a Sourcebook*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992.
Le Prince de Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie. *Magasin des enfans, ou dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et plusieurs de ses eleves de la premiére distinction*. Vol. 1. London: J. Haberkorn, 1756. http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&docLevel=FASCIMILE&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=upenn_main&tabID=T001&docId=CW3305746886&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0.
L’Esprit Des Journaux, François et Étrangers. Vol. VI. Paris: Chez Valade, 1788.
Lessens, Ronald. *André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, Ou, Le Triomphe de L’opéra-Comique: 1741-1813*. Univers Musical. Paris: Harmattan, 2007.
Levy, Morris S., J.J.M. Ward, C.A. Price, John Milton, Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Harvard Theatre Collection, and Houghton Library. *The King’s Theatre Collection: Ballet and Italian*

Opera in London 1706-1883: From the John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection, Harvard Theatre Collection : A Catalogue. Houghton Library Publications. Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2006.
L'Huillier, Monique. *Advanced French Grammar*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Link, Dorothea. "La Cantante Anna Morichelli, Paladín de Vicente Martín Y Soler." In *Los Siete Mundos de Vicente Martín Y Soler: Actas Del Congreso Internacional, Valencia, 14-18 Noviembre 2006*, 328–62. Valencia: Institut Valencià--Generalitat Valenciana, 2010.
———. *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792*. Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998.
Loughridge, Deirdre. *Haydn's Sunrise, Beethoven's Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism / Deirdre Loughridge*. Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.
Low, Peter. "Surtitles for Opera: A Specialised Translating Task." *Babel* 48, no. 2 (2002): 97–110. doi:10.1075/babel.48.2.01low.
MacMillan, Dougald. *Catalogue of the John Larpent Plays*. The Huntington Library, 1939.
Marmontel, Jean-François. *Memoirs of Marmontel, Written by Himself, Including Anecdotes of the Most Distinguished Literary and Political Characters Who Appeared in France during the Last Century*. London: H.S. Nichols, 1895.
Marvin, Roberta Montemorra. "The Censorship of Verdi's Operas in Victorian London." *Music and Letters* 82, no. 4 (2001): 582–610.
Mason, William. "Caractacus." In *Bell's British Theatre*, Vol. XXXI. London, 1797.
———. *Caractacus, a Dramatic Poem...now Altered for Theatrical Representation*. York: A. Ward, 1777.
———. *Caractacus, a Dramatic Poem: Written on the Model of the Ancient Greek Tragedy*. London: J. Knapton, 1759.
———. *Caractacus, Tragédie En Cinq Actes*. Paris: Vve Ballard et fils, 1785.
———. *Poems by William Mason, M.A*. York: A. Ward, 1771.
Mathew, Nicholas. *Political Beethoven*. New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
McGeary, Thomas. "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England." *Philological Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (1998): 171.
McGhee, Dorothy Madeleine. *The Cult of the "Conte Moral."* Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Company, 1960.
McGuinness, Rosamond. "External and Internal Factors in the Circulation of Music in London around 1700." In *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900: A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, edited by Rudolf Rasch, 33–46. v. 2. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008.
McMurran, Mary Helen. "The New Cosmopolitanism and the Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 47, no. 1 (2013): 19–38.

McVeigh, Simon. “London.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. London: Oxford. Accessed November 5, 2015. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904pg5.
Michtner, Otto. *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne. Von die Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II (1792)*. Vol. 3. Theatergeschichte Österreichs, Heft 1. Wien; Graz; Köln: Böhlau in Komm, 1970.
Mitchells, K. “Operatic Characters and Voice Type.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970): 47–58.
Mooney, James P. “A Foreigner with a Fruit Knife: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century London.” B.A., Davidson College, 2014.
Morris, Christopher. “‘Too Much Music’: The Media of Opera.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies*, edited by Nicholas Till, 95–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Mydans, Seth. “Across Cultures, English Is the Word.” *The New York Times*. April 9, 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/09/world/asia/09iht-englede.1.5198685.html.
Nedbal, Martin. *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*. Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera. New York: Routledge, 2017.
“New Music.” *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. December 6, 1794.
“News.” *True Briton*. January 5, 1797, Issue 1258 edition.
“News.” *Morning Chronicle*. January 10, 1797, sec. News.
Noiray, Michel. “Monsigny, Pierre-Alexandre.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed June 23, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/18990.
Nornes, Abé Mark. “For an Abusive Subtitling.” *Film Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1999): 17–34. doi:10.2307/1213822.
Northall, John. *Travels through Italy: Containing New and Curious Observations on That Country*. London: S. Hooper and S. Bladon, 1766.
“On Madam Banti.” *Tomahawk or Censor General*. February 3, 1796.
“Opéra.” *Journal de Paris*, no. 139 (May 19, 1779): 558–59.
“Opera.” *Morning Chronicle*. June 24, 1794.
“Opera.” *Morning Chronicle*. January 16, 1797, sec. Arts & Entertainment.
Operabase. “Opera Statistics 2015/16,” 2015. http://operabase.com/top.cgi?lang=en&break=0&show=opera&no=0&nat=.
“Opera House.” *Morning Chronicle*. June 4, 1794.
“Opera House.” *Business Morning Herald*. January 12, 1797, sec. Theatres.
“Opera-House Intelligence.” *Public Advertiser*. March 9, 1781, 14481 edition.
“Original Letters from Various Writers, Addressed to Domenico Dragonetti,” 1845 1802. Add. 17838. British Library.

Ostrower, Francie. *Trustees of Culture: Power, Wealth, and Status on Elite Arts Boards*. University of Chicago Press, 2004.
Pahta, Päivi, and Arja Nurmi. "Preacher, Scholar, Brother, Friend: Social Roles and Code-Switching in the Writings of Thomas Twining." In *Social Roles and Language Practices in Late Modern English*, edited by Minna Nevala, Minna Palander-Collin, Päivi Pahta, and Arja Nurmi, 135–62. Pragmatics & Beyond, new ser., v. 195. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 2010.
Paisiello, Giovanni. *Gli Schiavi per Amore*. London: D. Stuart, 1787.
Palmer, Fiona M. *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846): The Career of a Double Bass Virtuoso*. Oxford: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997.
Panayos, Michael. Met Titles, February 20, 2017.
Parke, William Thomas. *Musical Memoirs: Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from 1784, to the Year 1830*. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830.
Petty, Frederick C. *Italian Opera in London, 1760-1800*. Studies in Musicology, no. 16. Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1980.
Pickford, Susan. *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750-1830: Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*. Edited by Alison E. Martin. Routledge Research in Travel Writing. London; New York: Routledge, 2013.
Pillgrab, Daniela. "Lorenzo Da Ponte's Work for the Stage During His Time as a Librettist in Vienna." Edited by Michael Hüttler. *Maske Und Kothurn*, Maske und Kothurn, 52, no. 4 (2007): 49–94.
Piozzi, Hester Lynn. *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*. London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789.
"Postscript." *General Evening Post*. May 10, 1788, sec. News.
Pougin, A. *Monsigny et Son Temps: L'Opéra-Comique et La Comédie-Italienne, Les Auteurs, Les Compositeurs, Les Chanteurs*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1908.
Price, Curtis. "Pasticcio." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed August 23, 2014. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:5817/subscriber/article/grove/music/21051.
———. "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio." *Harvard Library Bulletin* ii, no. 4 (1991): 17–30.
Price, Curtis Alexander, Milhous, Judith, Robert D. Hume, and Gabriella Dideriksen. *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995.
Prod'homme, Jacques-Gabriel. "L'héritage di Sacchini." *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 1908, 23–41.
———. "Un Musicien Napolitain à La Cour de Louis XVI: Les Dernières Années de Gasparo Sacchini." *Le Ménestrel* 11 (December 1925).
Prota-Giurleo, Ulisse. *Sacchini a Napoli*. Naples, 1956.
———. *Sacchini Non Nacque a Pozzuoli*. Naples, 1952.

Pym, Anthony. “Humanizing Translation History.” *Hermes Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, no. 42 (2009): 23–48.
Rabin, Ronald Jay. “Mozart, Da Ponte, and the Dramaturgy of Opera Buffa: Italian Comic Opera in Vienna, 1783-1791.” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1996.
Rasch, Rudolf. “Introduction.” In *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900 : A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, edited by Rudolf Rasch. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008.
Raw, Laurence, ed. *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation*. Continuum Advances in Translation. London; New York: Continuum International Pub. Group, 2012.
Rice, John A. *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Rogers, Francis. “America’s First Grand Opera Season.” *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1915): 93–101.
Rosselli, John. “Music and Nationalism in Italy.” In *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945*, edited by Harry White and Michael Murphy, 181–96. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001.
Roudometof, Victor. “Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization.” *Current Sociology* 53, no. 1 (January 2005): 113–35. doi:10.1177/0011392105048291.
Rushton, Julian. “Music and Drama at the Académie Royale de Musique (Paris) 1774-1789.” Ph.D., Oxford Univ., 1969.
———. “Musicking Caractacus.” In *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, edited by Bennett Zon, 221–42. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013.
Sacchini, Antonio, and Lorenzo Da Ponte. “Ah quel core. A favortie song, as sung by Madm Banti, etc. [Score.].” Longman & Broderip, 1796.
———. “Ah! voi giusti e sommi dei. A favorite song as sung by Madm Banti.” Longman & Broderip, 1796.
———. “Evelina.” Music Manuscript, c 1797. Add MS16117. British Library.
———. “O lieto dì. A Favorite Trio as Sung at the King’s Theatre ... in ... Evelina, etc. [Short score.].” Longman & Broderip, 1797.
Sacchini, Antonio, and Nicolas François Guillard. *Evelina; or, the triumph of the English over the Romans*. Translated by Lorenzo Da Ponte. No. 134 Pall-Mall, London: L. Da Ponte, 1797.
Sadie, Stanley. “Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, no. 85th Session (1959 1958): 17–30.
Scarabello, Giovanni. “Da Ponte, Lorenzo.” *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*. Accessed March 7, 2017. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lorenzo-da-ponte_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.
Schneider, Ben Ross. *Index to The London Stage, 1660-1800*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979.

Senici, Emanuele. "'Adapted to the Modern Stage': 'La Clemenza Di Tito' in London." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, no. 1 (1995): pp. 1–22.
Sheppard, W. Anthony. "Puccini and the Music Boxes." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 140, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 41–92.
Sidiropoulou, Maria. *Linguistic Identities through Translation*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2004.
Smith, G. *Aeschylus & Sophocles.-v. 2. Euripides*. Specimens of Greek Tragedy. New York: Macmillan & Company, 1893.
Smith, William C. *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London, 1789-1820: A Record of Performances and Players, with Reports from the Journals of the Time*. London: Society for Theatre Research, 1955.
Smollett, Tobias. *Travels Through France and Italy: Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities*. Travels Through France and Italy: Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts, and Antiquities. London: R. Baldwin, 1766.
Sonneck, O.G.T. *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)*. Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907.
Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore. "'Caractacus' Not Arne's Caractacus." *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12, no. 2 (March 1911): 297–215.
Sonnenfels, Joseph von. "Nach Der Zweiten Vorstellung Der Iphigenia in Tauris: Wien, 1781." In *Deutsches Museum*, edited by Heinrich Christian Boie and Christian Wilheim von Dohm, Vol. 1. Leipzig: Weygandliche Buchhandler, 1782.
Spencer, Stewart, and Robert Anderson. "More on Surtitles." *The Musical Times* 130, no. 1757 (1989): 384–384. doi:10.2307/1193429.
Sponza, Lucio. *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988.
Staccioli, Roberto. "Giorgi, Brigida." *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/brigida-giorgi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.
Steifel, Richard. "Mozart's Seductions." *Current Musicology*, no. 36 (1983): 151–66.
Steptoe, Andrew. *The Mozart-Da Ponte Operas: The Cultural and Musical Background to Le Nozze Di Figaro, Don Giovanni, and Così Fan Tutte*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
Strohm, Reinhard. "Iphigenia's Curious Ménage à Trois in Myth, Drama, and Opera." In *(Dis)embodying Myths in Ancien Régime Opera: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Bruno Forment, 117–38. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2012.
Stuart, David, and Greg Skidmore. "Cavalli's Erismena." *Early Music* 38, no. 3 (August 1, 2010): 482–83. doi:10.1093/em/caq068.

Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820*. Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
———. "The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 2 (June 2010): 145–64.
Syrett, David. *Admiral Lord Howe*. Library of Naval Biography. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006.
Talbot, Michael, ed. *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* Liverpool Music Symposium 1. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
The British Library. *The Catalogue of Dragonetti Bequest*. London, 2013.
"The Opera." *True Briton*. December 14, 1795, sec. Arts & Entertainment.
"The Opera." *Oracle and Public Advertiser*. July 23, 1796.
"The Opera." *True Briton*. January 12, 1797, sec. Arts & Entertainment.
The Selector. Vol. 1. London: Laidler's-Office, 1776.
The Thespian Dictionary. London: J. Cundee, 1802.
Thierstein, Eldred. "Antonio Maria Gaspero Sacchini and His French Operas." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cincinnati, 1974.
Thomas, Downing A. *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647-1785*. Cambridge Studies in Opera. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Van, Gilles de. *Verdi's Theater: Creating Drama through Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translation Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
———. *The Translator's Invisibility a History of Translation*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995.
Villars, Franz de. "Oedipe à Colone et Sacchini." *L'art Musical*, October 15, 1863.
Wakabayashi, Judy. "History of Translation." In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2012. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0512.
Wakin, Daniel. "Oh Baby! That Duke Sure Is a Dreamboat in the New 'Rigoletto." *New York Times*. February 8, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/09/arts/music/mets-titles-translate-rigoletto-into-1960-rat-pack-speak.html.
Weber, William. "Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life." In *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, edited by Jane Fulcher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
———. "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?" *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): pp. 678–91.
———. *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Youell, Amber. "Opera at the Crossroads of Tradition and Reform in Gluck's Vienna." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012.

Zaslaw, Neal, ed. *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*. 1st North American ed. Man & Music. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1989.
Zijdema, Richard L., and Filipa Ribeiro de Silva. "Life Expectancy since 1820." In *How Was Life?: Global Well-Being Since 1820*, edited by J.L. van Zanden. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014.
Zipes, J.D. *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
Zipoli, Veronica Simcock. "Lorenzo da Ponte: Teacher and Translator." In *Atti del convegno Lorenzo Da Ponte, librettista di Mozart: New York, Columbia University, Casa Italiana, Piccolo Teatro, 28-30 marzo 1988*, edited by Marina Maymone Siniscalchi and Paolo Spedicato. Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Divisione editoria, 1992.
Morning Post and Daily Advertiser. April 15, 1779, 2028 edition, sec. Classified Ads.